SOURCE BOOK

OF MARATHA HISTORY

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Volume I

To the Death of Shivaji

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Part I

MARATHA SOURCES

BY

R. P. PATWARDHAN, B.A., I.E.S.

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INTRODUCTION.

One of the earliest resolutions passed by the Indian Historical Records Commission, which met for the first time in Bombay in 1919, was to the effect that the Bombay Government should bring out a comprehensive Source Book of Maratha History. At the third meeting, held in Delhi in January 1921, the Commission received the assurance of His Excellency Sir George Lloyd, that the matter was receiving attention, and the subject was again broached at Calcutta in 1923, by Professor B. K. Thakore, M.A., I.E.S., with whom the proposal had originated. The Government of Bombay thereupon appointed a representative committee consisting of Mr. G. S. Sardesai and Professors Jadunath Sarkar, B. K. Thakore, V. D. Potdar, the late Rao Bahadur Parasnis, and myself, to take the business in hand without more ado. The committee had a series of meetings in the cold weather of 1924-25 : a list of select documents was provisionally drawn up, and the work divided among the members. It was decided that Professor Potdar should undertake the translation of the Marathi passages, with the assistance of Mr. Sardesai; Professor Sarkar should be responsible for the Persian sources; Professor Thakore for foreign sources other than Persian; while I should act as general editor. Unfortunately, our schemes, as even the best-laid do, went astray. The members of the original committee quickly found themselves immersed in official duties in widely separated parts of India. Professor Potdar, at the end of two years, was forced to abandon his portion of the undertaking owing to overwhelming pressure of work. Professor Thakore was appointed to a Professorship at Baroda College. Mr. Sardesai was lecturing in Patna University. Professor Sarkar was appointed Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University. Under these circumstances, I was compelled to make the best of a perplexing situation. Rather than allow the scheme to drop through altogether, I sought and obtained the permission of Government to entrust the editing of the Marathi sources to Professor R. P. Patwardhan, B.A., I.E.S., Professor of History at the Elphinstone College, Bombay, while I endeavoured to take the responsibility for the foreign sources upon my own shoulders. To this the Committee agreed. We leave our readers to judge of the success of our attempt. We would like to point out, however, that this book does not pretend to be exhaustive. An exhaustive work on such a theme would fill, not one but many volumes of extracts, and the

result would defeat its own ends. The reader would, as the saying goes, fail to see the wood for the trees. Our endeavour, therefore, has been to prepare, for the use of the student of Maratha History, a representative selection of the best authenticated documents bearing upon this period. In European and American Schools and Universities, the study of original sources, even at an early stage, is becoming increasingly popular. Students are trained, not to take their opinions ready-made from text-books, but to draw their own conclusions from contemporary documents. It is in this training of the judgment that the educational value of the study of history so largely lies. The study of the "Source-book" may be described as the first stage in historical research, the second being, of course, where the student learns to search for and select original material for himself.

Now that Indian Universities allow candidates for the M.A. degree to submit a thesis in lieu of papers, we trust that a work of this kind may have some value, if only as a sign-post, pointing the way to the prosecution of further researches into the originals. We trust also that such a volume may be of value to the large and ever-growing number of students of Indian History, both here and abroad, who wish to obtain an insight into contemporary documents, but are debarred from doing so by want of knowledge, say, of Marathi, French or Persian. This volume is intended to be the first of a series, bringing the history of the Maharashtra down to the time of the British conquest in 1817. We hope therefore that it will receive the support and encouragement necessary for the continuance of the undertaking.

POONA, 1928. H. G. RAWLINSON.

PREFACE TO PART I

A little over a century ago Grant Duff's "History of the Mahrattas" was given to the world. It at once superseded the older works of "the indefatigable Orme," (1782) and Scott Waring (1810), and established its reputation as the standard and authoritative account of the rise and decline of the Maratha power in India. Grant Duff had enjoyed, indeed, unrivalled facilities for the accomplishment of his self-imposed task. Earlier writers had relied, as a rule, on Persian and European sources; Grant Duff, on the other hand, was in a position to command and utilise a vast mass of Marathi documents as well. Some "*Bakhars*" or Chronicles were known to exist in Marathi; in the very year of Orme's Fragments, for instance, the great Maratha statesman, Nana Fadnavis, had a "Bakhar of the Peshwas" written for the instruction of the then boy-Peshwa, Madhavrao II. Scott Waring tells us that he used some of these chronicles—he says he used four for the Shivaji period—and pronounces a well-known eulogy on them.[1] Grant Duff not only utilised the Bakhars, but obtained access to the State papers of the Peshwas, which were made over to him by Mountstuart Elphinstone after the overthrow of the Peshwa's Government in 1818. Many papers in the possession of the Raja of Satara, the existence of which was unknown even to the Peshwa, were confided to him by the Raja. There were, in addition, many other papers such as records of temples, family legends, and documents brought forward at that time of resettlement by descendants of old families either to substantiate their just claims, or to set up unfounded pretensions. Copies of some of these papers were lodged by Grant Duff with the Literary Society of Bombay, the predecessor of the present Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society.

Towards the seventies of the nineteenth century, the first note of criticism of Grant Duff's work was sounded in Maharashtra. By this time the introduction of English education, and the establishment of Universities, had produced scholars well fitted, by their acquaintance with

(1) "Their historians write in a plain, simple, and unaffected style, content to relate passing events in apposite terms without seeking turgid imagery or inflated phraseology. Victory and defeat are briefly related. If they pass over the latter too hastily, they do not dwell upon the former with unnecessary minuteness. They do not endeavour to bias or mislead the judgment, but are certainly greatly deficient in chronology and in historical reflections."

the great English historians, to carry on research in Indian history. And though the papers lodged by Grant Duff with the Literary Society had been lost, a few Marathi bakhars were known in manuscript. Men who turned from Gibbon and Macaulay on the one hand and the "Bakhar of the Battle of Kharda," and "Malharrao Holkar's Despatch to Peshwa Balaji Bajirao about the Battle of Panipat" on the other, to Grant Duff, saw much reason to be dissatisfied with the latter. They missed in Grant Duff the enthusiasm and patriotic fervour of the bakhars, the art and the philosophic depth of Gibbon. Grant Duff's work, they felt, instead of being named "A History of the Marathas," ought rather to have been called "An account of some of the campaigns of the Marathas." This was the point of Mr. N. J. Kirtane's "Criticism of Grant Duff's History of the Marathas (1868)," and later, of Mr. Rajwade's introduction to the first volume of his "Materials for the History of the Marathas (1898)." The latter pointed out, by means of an examination of the letters published in this volume, how Grant Duff's account of the period 1750-1761 was wrong in some points, and in need of supplementing in others.

About 1870, therefore, several scholars in Maharashtra devoted themselves to the search for documents. The fruit of their labours was the Kavyetihasa-Sangraha, a monthly magazine devoted to the publication of old poems and historical documents, under the editorship of K. N. Sane (1851-1927) and J. B. Modak. The magazine continued for 12 years, and was then stopped for want of support. It had published some thirty volumes of historical materials, mostly *bakhars*, together with some letters and other documents. The work of the Kavyetihasa-Sangraha was continued by Mr. Parasnis (1870-1926) in other magazines, *viz.*, the Bharata-Varsha (1898-1900) and the Itihasa-Sangraha (1908-1916) and by Mr. Vasudeo Shastri Khare (ob. June 1924) in the Aitihasika-Lekha-Sangraha (1897-1922). Mr. Khare's work, which had run into 12 volumes when it was cut short by his death, consists of selections from the papers of the Patwardhan Chiefs of Miraj, with valuable Introductions, and is of great value to students of the later 18th Century history.

But the most outstanding personality in the field of historical research during the last 40 years—the most indefatigable in the collection of documents, most daring in their interpretation—was Mr. Vishwanath Kashinath Rajwade (1864-1926). Early in life he devoted himself to this

cause, "went on foot from village to village, tracing old Maratha families of sardars, clerks and priests, and examining their stock of papers, over which he pored with a concentration and devotion hardly to be met with in ordinary life. Without heeding hunger or thirst, feeding on charity and accepting from kindly people money and expenses just enough to satisfy the bare needs of his travel, he roamed about for years, throughout Maharashtra and through many parts outside, with heavy loads of old manuscript papers on his back, which he has now stored in different centres with friends and pupils whom he collected round himself."* Twenty-two volumes of these papers have been published under the name of Marathyanchya Itihasachin Sadhanen (Materials for the history of the Marathas). In 1910 Rajwade, with a few others, founded a society at Poona to carry on the work of historical research. This is the Bharata-Itihas-Samshodhak Mandal (Indian Historical Research Society), a flourishing institution, which, through its Quarterly magazine, reports of its fortnightly and annual meetings, and other publications, has done and is doing valuable work towards the fulfilment of its object.

It may be said, then, that now we need no longer look upon Grant Duff as a "primary source." So far as the period covered by the present volume is concerned, it must be admitted that though the devoted search of nearly half a century has resulted in the discovery of a great many private papers, it has not brought to light any State-papers worth mentioning. This, however, is only what is to be expected from the chaos into which Maharashtra fell after 1689. At the same time, for precisely the same reason, Grant Duff too could not have had access to any State-papers which are now withheld from us. From the materials at our command we can infer, for the most part, what authorities he has been following. And on the other hand we now possess some materials of the existence of which he does not seem to have been aware. The private papers themselves, besides being valuable for the social history of the period, give sometimes important, and occasionally interesting, information about political transactions.

At the same time one cannot help expressing the wish—a vain one, perhaps—that the *originals* of the papers which

* Sardesai—Main Currents, pp. 40-41.

the devotion of Mr. Rajwade and other workers has succeeded in bringing to light, were to be stored in some central institution, and thus made readily available to students. The reader of these papers is haunted by a lurking fear that the documents on which he has been building his conclusions may possibly have been inaccurately transcribed or deciphered, or may even have been forgeries. Mr. Rajwade himself noted in the case of a very few papers that they appeared to him to be forgeries; and many of them were transcribed from the originals, not by Mr. Rajwade himself, but by clerks. Many of the papers, again, purport to make grants of rent-free lands to individuals, and one can imagine the temptation there would be to forge such papers at the resettlement in Shahu's reign after the storm and stress of the last twenty or twenty-five years. It may be that the proportion of doubtful papers among the total number published so far is infinitesimal; still it is desirable that the authenticity of every single published paper be placed absolutely above suspicion. The danger of building the edifice of history on foundations not absolutely firm has been strikingly illustrated in a recent case, which may be mentioned here. In Rajwade (Vol. XV) there is a letter of Shivaji's, with his well-known seal, bearing the date Shake 1561 (A.D. 1639). The late Prof. Limaye argued from this that Shivaji's ambitions were encouraged by his tutor Dadaji Konddev, and even by his father Shahaji, for obviously a boy of 12 would never have dreamed of having a seal of this description made for himself! From Prof. Limaye's article this view found its way into Edwardes's notes on Grant Duff (Grant Duff, Vol. I, p. 102, note). It has recently been pointed out by the learned Chief of Aundh, however, that the date was wrongly deciphered by Mr. Rajwade, and that it ought to be Shake 1570 (A.D. 1648). Thus the whole bottom is knocked out of Prof. Limaye's argument. This case illustrates the necessity of making our foundations absolutely firm, and it would be a great gain to Maratha history if the idea referred to above is realised.

* * * * * *

In preparing these Selections, I must acknowledge with gratitude the assistance I received from Principal H. G. Rawlinson, Sardar K. C. Mehendale, and Mr. S. M. Divekar. All these, particularly Mr. Divekar, generously supplied me with books which it would have been very difficult to procure

within a short time. To Principal Rawlinson I am further obliged for looking over the proof-sheets and suggesting in several cases a happier phrasing than I had thought of. The translations are in most cases my own, but I have derived much help from Prof. Sen's "Shiva-Chhatrapati" and the "Shivaji Souvenir" edited by Mr. Sardesai. Above all my thanks are due to Mr. D. V. Apte. I owe a great deal, not only to his scholarly published work, but to some personal discussions I had with him—if those could be called "discussions" in which I for the most part was a silent hearer.

R. P. PATWARDHAN.

SHIVAJI

COPIED FOR MANUCCI, FROM AN ORIGINAL IN THE PALACE OF SHAH ALAM, CIRCA 1686

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BOOK I

THE RISE OF THE BHONSLES AND THE CAREER OF SHAHAJI

[Most of the extracts in this Book are taken from the Shiva-Bharat. Other sources, like the Tanjore Inscription (p. 21) and the Radha-Madha-Vilas-Champu (p. 22) have also been noticed. The Jedhe Chronology being an important source for the whole of the early history of the Marathas, a full translation of this important document is given at the end of this Book.

The accounts which the Bakhars give of this period are full of legends and loose traditions.]

I.—SHIVA-BHARAT

[Among the sources of the history of the Marathas which have recently been brought to light, the Shiva-Bharat(1) must be assigned a very high place. It is a poem, in Sanskrit, by the poet Paramananda, a native of Nevase(2) in the modern district of Ahmednagar. There is no doubt that the poet was a contemporary of Shivaji, and that the poem was composed at the instance of the latter. "That victorious hero, lord of mountain forts," the poet tells us at the beginning of the poem, "addressed me once to this effect:—'Whatever deeds I have performed on earth, and those that I have been performing—describe them all, O wise one'." It was to have been a great epic poem, of 1,00,000 stanzas, even like the Mahabharata itself (hence the name, Shiva-*Bharat*); but, as it has come down, it contains only 2262 stanzas. These are divided into 31 complete chapters, and the poem breaks off abruptly at the 9th stanza of the 32nd. The period covered is from Maloji, Shivaji's grandfather, to about May 1661. There is good ground for thinking that the poem as we have it is all that was ever written.

In estimating the value of the Shiva-Bharat as historical evidence, we must remember that it is a poem, written by a courtier, and a courtier who believes that his patron is an incarnation of the Deity. A courtier will glorify the smallest exploit of his patron, and, even at best, will omit what is inglorious in him. A poet, too, will exaggerate; and a belief in the divinity of his hero may be supposed to be destructive of all sound historical judgment. Yet, even nowadays, we should not entirely reject a biography of, say, Mr. J. Krishnamurti on the sole ground that the author is a Theosophist; and the poetic exaggerations in the Shiva-Bharat can be easily detected and set aside; (as, *e.g.*, when we are told that Maloji dug wells and adorned them with flights of steps *made of gold*, or that Jadhav Rao was filled with anger *and the whole Earth trembled*). The historical framework which remains is found to be remarkably accurate, confirmed, as it is, at places, by contemporary records, Maratha or English. Thus, *e.g.*, Professor Sarkar, following Sabhasad (see p. 43 *post*), and departing from Grant Duff, places the conquest of Shringarpur in 1656(3). On this view, it has been difficult to explain the letter of the English prisoners at Songarh, written in June 1661, where that conquest is referred to as a recent event (Sarkar—Shivaji 2nd edn., p. 48 and note). According to the Shiva-Bharat, however, the conquest of Shringarpur took place in April or May 1661, and so the letter just referred to, Grant Duff, and the Shiva-Bharat

(1) Published, from the Ms. in the Tanjore Palace Library, by Mr. S. M. Divekar, with a Marathi translation by Mr. R. D. Desai, and a valuable Introduction, also in Marathi, by Mr. D. V. Apte.

(2) 19° ·34′ N. 75° E. 35 m. N. E. of Ahmednagar. Here the poet Dnyaneshwar composed his famous commentary on the Bhagavadgita.

(3) This event has now been correctly placed in 1661 in the 3rd edition (p. 85).

are on this point in complete agreement. Other examples of similar accuracy and confirmation by independent authority may be given. Thus the statement of the Shiva-Bharat that at the plunder of Rajapur in the beginning of 1661 Shivaji had the floor of the English factory dug up finds confirmation in the Dutch Dagh Register (Anno 1661 pp. 215-6). On two occasions distances are referred to, and both references are quite accurate. The same thing is true of descriptions of places, such as the fort of Panhala (Ch. XXIII end), and the country round about Sangameshwar (Ch. XXIX-St. 86-7). Lastly, there is here none of that confusion of chronological sequence, which one finds even in the best of the Bakhars. Altogether, one feels that even as material for history the poem is deserving of respect, and one's regret is keen that it is incomplete].

(1) Maloji and the childhood of Shahaji

In the Deccan, there arose in the Solar race, the great king Maloji, himself like the sun in splendour.

That Maratha king, efficient in the discharge of his duty, ruled over the Maharashtra country.

[I 42-43]

He, being a devotee of Shiva, caused an enormous reservoir of sweet water to be dug on the Shambhu mountain, in order to propitiate the God Shiva.

[*Ib.* 54]

At the same time the righteous Nizamshah ruled the Earth from Devgiri.

Jadhav Rao and all other kings of the Deccan served him.

Adil Shah also ruled at the time at Bijapur. Now, after some time, for some powerful reason, hostility arose between the Nizam and the Adil Shah.

Then, the wise Nizam, who had heard of Maloji as a destroyer of his foes, appointed him to aid himself.

[*Ib.* 59-63]

[Maloji and his brother Vithoji take a prominent part in the wars of Nizamshah].

Though the Nizam had a great many helpers, still Maloji was superior to them all.

[*Ib.* 69]

[Two sons are born to Maloji, by name Shaha and Sharif].

When Shahaji attained the fifth year, Maloji, having been sent by the Nizam to Indapur* for fighting, ... was killed in a strenuous struggle with powerful opponents.

[II 1-5]

---

*18°-8′ N. 75°-5′ E., a taluka in the Poona District. 80 miles S. E. of Poona.

[Vithoji administered the jagir for his nephews. Shahaji grew to handsome, lusty manhood].

Then Jadhav Rao, whose magnificence was like that of Kubera,(1) seeing Shahaji, generous, humane, spirited, well-skilled in fighting, endowed with all excellent qualities, gave him his daughter Jiju, the well-born, lotus-eyed maiden. . . . . together with a handsome dowry.

[II 42-44]

The long-armed Sharif, too, got an excellent wife in the virtuous daughter of Vishwasraja, Durga by name.

[*Ib.* 65]

(2) The Jadhavs and the Bhonsles fall out

Then his uncle Vithoji also having died, Shahaji. . . . . took the heavy burden of administration into his own hand.

Sambhaji, Kheloji, Maloji, Mambaji, Nagoji, Parsoji, Tryambakji, Vakkaji—these brothers, Vithoji's sons, equal to Indra(2) in valour; and Shahaji and Sharifji, the two great sons of Maloji;—these, given to conquest, capable fighters, did the pleasure of the Nizam . . . . . Little did they reck of any enemy, and followed the will of Malik Ambar.

Once, when the Nizam, together with his faithful servants and ministers had come to the Durbar from the inner apartments and sat on the throne, Jadhavrao and others had audience, according to their respective rank, and then, after saluting him, all hastily started for home.

Then, when they were moving, their hearts set in rivalry against one another, there was a great rush outside the gate of the Durbar hall.

The attendants cleared the crowd in front of the Sardars, who . . . . set out, together with their respective retinues, some on horseback, some on elephants, others in palanquins.

Then an elephant of Sardar Khandagle became violent, and crushed the soldiers of other Sardars.

[III 1-15]

None could stop him, while he crushed armies, trumpeting fearlessly, and looking like the cloud at the time of the Deluge.

Now, Dattaji and the other sons of Jadhavrao could not bear that sound........So, at the instance of Dattaji, soldiers attacked the infuriated elephant with arrows, swords, pikes, clubs, and javelins.

[*Ib.* 17-19]

Then Sambhaji and Kheloji, two of Vithoji's sons, came to the assistance of Khandagle.

[*Ib.* 24]

---

(1) The God of Wealth in Hindu Mythology. (2) The God of War in Hindu Mythology.

Dattaji turned away from that furious elephant, whose trunk had been cut off, and attacked the brave Sambhaji.

[III 26]

Then the two armies fought hand to hand. While Sambhaji, whose prowess was like that of Indra, attacked Dattaji, Shahaji, his cousin, took up his side, disregarding his own connection with the Jadhavs.

[*Ib.* 28-29]

[Dattaji is killed by Sambhaji. When Jadhavrao, Dattaji's father, who has gone ahead, hears the news, he returns, enters the mêlée, attacks his son-in-law Shahaji, and leaving the latter stunned and unconscious, turns to Sambhaji and kills him. Nizam Shah mediates and restores peace.]

(3) Battle of Bhatavdi(1)

Then the Nizam, who was partial towards Kheloji and the other sons of Vithoji, knowing how difficult it was to subdue Jadhavrao,—since the latter had a numerous retinue, was surrounded by a large army, intent on destroying his enemies, and like a second Indra—knowing this, the Nizam thought in his heart of a clever stratagem.

Coming to know of this wicked plan the leader of the Jadhavs set off, and joined the Emperor of Delhi.

When Jadhavrao left the Nizam's kingdom, Adilshah rejoiced at the opportunity. The latter had formerly suffered several reverses at the hands of the Nizam. He now made a treaty with the Moghul Emperor. The magnanimous and powerful Emperor, too, long jealous of the Nizam, at once conformed to the desire of Adilshah.

Jahangir, the powerful Moghul Emperor, sent an army to help Ibrahim. Having got that Moghul army, Adil held his enemy, the Nizam, in supreme contempt.

[IV 1-9]

The Nizam, too, proud of his prowess, destroyer of numerous foes, did not reck of the enemy, protected as he was by many soldiers, among whom were the following :—

Shahaji; Sharifji the excellent bowman; the brave and virtuous Kheloji; the powerful Maloji; Mambaji; Nagoji, with the strength of an elephant; Parsoji and Tryambakji; Kakkoji; Hambirrao Chavan, conqueror of enemies; Mudhoji, Lord of Phaltan; Nṛsimharaja and other Nishada Chiefs, eager to fight; Ballala, Tripada, and many others; so also the powerful Vithalraj Kamte; Dattaji Nagnath, and the successful Mambaji; Nṛsimha Pingle, a Brahmin; Sundar Jagdev; the proud Yakootkhan Sarathi; Mansur, the brave and handsome warrior; Joharkhan and proud Hamid; the warrior Ataskhan, splendid like the fire; Malik Ambar, the Barbar, glorious as the Sun; his son, the haughty Fatehkhan; and the sons of Adamkhan, famous for their great qualities.

[*Ib.* 10-21]

(1) Bhatodi, a village 10 miles N. E. of Ahmednagar. A description of the battle, without mention of the name, will be found in Elliott & Dowson, Vol. VI, pp. 414-5.

With the permission of the Emperor, the following Moghul leaders, together with their general Lashkarkhan, came to the South :—Jalal, Jahan, Khanjir, Sikandar, Karamulla, Khalel, Sujan, Samad, with Bahadur, —all powerful Muhammadans ; the warlike Dudaraj ; Udaram, Brahmin by birth, but famous as a warrior ; Dadaji Vishwanath. . . . ; four sons of Jadhavrao, *viz.*, Raghava, Anchal, Jaswant, and Bahadur ; and finally the powerful Jadhavrao himself.

[IV 23-27]

The leaders of Adilshah's army also,—*viz.*, Mustafa, Masood, Farad, Dilawar, Sarja Yakoot, Khairat, Ambar, and Ankush,—all Muhammadans ; . . . . the Brahmin Dhundhi ; Rustum, also a Brahmin ; and Ghatge and many other Maratha chieftains—arrived in proper order under the command of the great Mulla Muhammad.

[*Ib.* 29-32]

Then Malik Ambar, sent by the Nizam, met the invaders—the Moghuls from the North, and the others from the South.

[*Ib.* 33]

[A description of the battle follows. Shahaji, Sharifji, Kheloji, Hambirrao, and the Siddi contingent are specially mentioned as distinguishing themselves. Sharifji is killed. The Nizamshah's army remains victorious.]

(4) Twelve years of diplomacy and warfare (1624-1636)
Shahaji to the front

[The chronology of this period is uncertain. On the basis of several authorities—Grant Duff, Professor Sarkar's article in Modern Review September 1917, the Jedhe Chronology and Mr. Apte's introductions to the Shiva-Bharat and Shiva-Charitra-Sahitya, the following is suggested as the most satisfactory :—

1624 Battle of Bhatavdi.

1625 Shahaji takes service with Bijapur. His expeditions against Phaltan, into Karnatak and Kerala (Malabar).

1626, 14th May—Death of Malik Ambar.

1627, September—Death of Ibrahim Adil Shah.

1628, Shahaji returns to Nizam Shah.
Shahaji is sent by Fateh Khan into East Khandesh : is there defeated by Darya Khan Rohela.

1629 Fateh Khan imprisoned by Nizam Shah. Lukhji Jadhav Rao returns to Ahmednagar, but is murdered by order of the Sultan. Shahaji takes forcible possession of some Nizamshahi territory and also some Bijapur territory. Murar Pant is sent against him from Bijapur. Shahaji seeks shelter with Shriniwasrao of Shivneri. Murar Pant burns Poona.

1630 Shahaji enters Imperial service. Takes part in the pursuit of Darya Khan, now a rebel. Returns to Shivneri where he sees his newly born son, Shivaji, for the first time. Famine in Gujarat and the Deccan.

1631 Jan. Fateh Khan released and restored to power. He imprisons and then murders the Sultan, raises a child to the throne, and enters into negotiations with the Emperor.

1632 Shahaji leaves Imperial service. He makes overtures to the Bijapur government, and the two invest Daulatabad.

1633 Daulatabad falls to the Moghuls.

1633-1636 Shahaji's attempt to set up a Nizamshahi prince.

1636 Peace between Moghuls and Bijapur and end of the Ahmednagar dynasty.

That Shahaji was in Bijapur service between 1625 and 1628 and that he was held in high esteem there (The Shiva-Bharat says that " Ibrahim shared his own seat with him as it were ") is a fact disclosed to us by the Shiva-Bharat and the Tanjore Inscription (Ch. II below) alone, but it receives confirmation from some contemporary letters (see Apte-Introduction to Shiva-Charitra-Sahitya, p. 18, and Introduction to Shiva-Bharat, p. 72).

The graphic description of the famine of 1630-1631 deserves notice (below p. 10)]

Now, Kheloji and the other sons of Vithoji, vying with Shahaji at each step, as the sons of Dhrtarashtra did with the wise Dharmaraja, began to hate him like enemies : that is ever the way of near relatives, entitled to a share of the same inheritance.

Ever desirous of new glory, they became the clients of the Barbar minister Ambar, —a worthy patron and one who had subjugated the whole earth by his eminent intellect—and they could not bear to see the brave Shahaji, glorious as the Sun.

Seeing this schism within his own family, the shrewd, intelligent Shahaji, caring naught for either Ambar or the Nizam or those wicked relatives, bent on mischief, repaired in no time to his own jagir, taking with him his army and abundant military equipment ....

That minister of the Nizam could no more win him over, now that he has gone forth and was occupying his own territory with power.

And without him, even to that large kingdom of the Nizam something seemed lacking, as something seems lacking to the sky in the absence of the Sun.

Now Adilshah, the rival of the Nizam, seeing that that was the proper time to create a division, won over the valiant, energetic, magnanimous Shahaji to his side through his able servants, and thought himself unconquerable.

Adilshah, having won his assistance, conquered hostile armies and flourished, as the wild fire, receiving help from the wind, burns down forests and increases.

Spreading his splendour round about, like the Sun, the valiant Shahaji triumphed over magnanimous Malik Ambar.

As the violently blowing wind breaks down even a deeply-rooted tree, so did Shahaji, ever winning fresh laurels, break the deeply-rooted pride of the Nizam in his own prowess.

Then Ibrahim, highly pleased, shared his own office, as it were, with Shahaji, who had annihilated his enemies.

Leading an expedition against the proud, powerful lord of Phaltan, Mudhoji by name, ... because he was an enemy to Ibrahim, Shahaji completely defeated him.

That unrelenting man (Shahaji) conquered Kerala and Karnatak also, and filled the treasury of Ibrahim, giving him great satisfaction.

And he checked other powerful kings also by his policy, and made the rule of Ibrahim like that of Rama.

[V 1-20]

[The rest of Chapter V describes, in Puranic fashion, that the Earth oppressed by the Daityas in the form of Muhammadans, repaired to Brahma for succour, and received an assurance from the latter that Vishnu was going to be born as son of Shahaji Bhonsle. Chapter VI describes the birth of Shivaji at Shivneri, and chapter VII his doings as a child.]

The wise ones* said —

"You said, Oh Paramanand, that Shivaji was born in Shivneri fort; we feel a difficulty here.

For that strong, renowned fortress, famous as a second Daulatabad, as it were, was a favourite one with the Nizam. How did Shahaji happen to come there— tell us all that, Oh son of Bhatta Govinda."

Kavindra replied :—

Listen, O worthy Brahmins, to this auspicious story of King Shahaji, sweet like nectar.

When the Siddi Ambar, illustrious as the Sun, had gone to his rest and the very existence of the Nizam, now without any capable minister, was at stake; when, as fortune would have it, the great Ibrahim also had died and his son, the proud Mahmud, had taken his place; and when the forces of Shah Jehan, recently become Emperor of Delhi, had advanced proudly to conquer the South; —the valiant Shahaji, remembering his old connection, and wishing to be of use to the Nizam, left Bijapur.

And Jadhavrao also left Moghul service, and, taking up the side of the Nizam, arrived at Daulatabad.

Meanwhile the well-known, wealthy, and capable Vijayaraja, son of Siddhapala, of the family of Vishwasaraja, a devotee of Shiva, a man in

*As the Mahabharata is supposed to be narrated by the sage Vaishampayana to King Janamejaya, or the Puranas by Suta to certain listeners, so the Shiva-Bharat is supposed to be narrated by the author, Kavindra Paramananda, to certain Brahmins of Benares on the bank of the Ganges. These are the 'wise ones' who raise a difficulty at the beginning of Chapter VIII.

whom the Nizam reposed great confidence, and who was posted in Shivneri fort, thought that his daughter Jayanti was a suitable bride for Sambhaji, the son of Shahaji.

Shahaji, too, thought it a most admirable match, and asked Jayanti for daughter-in-law.

Then there were great festivities to celebrate the abovementioned connection between Vijayaraja and Shahaji . . . .

Then, after a few days, when the festivities were over, Shahaji, with the permission of his relative, left his wife, who was pregnant, at Shivneri fort itself, together with her attendants, and set out to conquer Darya Khan.

So I have told you how Shahaji happened to come to Shivneri : what more do you wish to hear ?

The wise Brahmins said —

" While the brave, capable Jadhavrao, had abandoned the Emperor and lately come over to the side of the Nizam, ready to fight with the aggressive Moghuls, what did the Nizam do to achieve his own objects ?"

Kavindra replied :—

The Nizam, alas ! became a changed man, on account of evil counsellors, and addiction to sexual pleasure.

To him, infatuated as he was, a good man was evil, and a wicked man was good, if only he flattered profusely. Seeing things in a perverted way, he slighted the elders . . . . . .

Unsettled in mind, drunk every day, and talking obscenely—his kingdom began to decline.

Now once when the spirited Jadhavrao had come to pay his respects, the evil-minded Nizam insulted him.

Being insulted by the Nizam, the proud, magnanimous Jadhavrao was beside himself with anger.

Then [while he was returning proudly, like a furious elephant] Hameed and other wicked generals, already taken into his evil counsel by the Nizam, held him up at the gate of the courtyard.

Fighting there against numerous enemies in the company of his sons, ministers, and friends, Jadhavrao reached heaven, and was welcomed by the gods. . . . .

Hearing this news of his father-in-law Jadhavrao, the ever successful Shahaji ceased from assisting the Nizam.

Now a Moghul army, marching with speed from the bank of the Tapti, besieged Daulatabad, the residence of the Nizam.

The proud and covetous Adilshah too got together his army at the same time and sent it to Daulatabad.

The two armies—of Shah Jehan and Mahmud—had daily fights there for Daulutabad.

And Nizamshah himself fought with both these armies from the top of the fort.

There the Nizam was defeated by the powerful Moghul army, which fought vigorously, and by that of Mahmud.

And he was overwhelmed by that ocean-like Moghul army—he and everything of his: that fortress, forces of different kinds, the foolish minister Fateh Khan, all retinue, and an abundant treasure.

[The interlocutors ask how it was that the Nizam, once so powerful, was thus overwhelmed. The poet replies.]

When his father Ambar, who took care to protect everybody, had died, the mean-witted Fateh Khan became, as fate willed it, the minister of the Nizam, and, relentless like the God of Death, oppressed all people.

When by his counsel, and that of the wicked Hameed, the Nizam assassinated Jadhavrao, thenceforward Shahaji and other chiefs, and the Muslim commanders of armies, all became disaffected, and distracted by loss of confidence, and anger, and fear, some went over to Adilshah, some to the Emperor of Delhi, some of unrelenting mind, became enemies, and some assumed an attitude of neutrality.

Then on account of various evil doings of that wicked man, there was a fearful drought, and men became miserable.

When there was no rain for a long time in his territory, corn became extremely difficult, and on the other hand gold easy, to obtain.

Rich men could with great difficulty get one seer of kulith (a kind of cheap corn) in exchange for the same measure of jewels.

Reduced to extremity through having nothing to eat, beasts ate beasts and even men ate men.

Weakened gradually by this great drought, by foreign invasion, and by the absence of old-time leaders and a great part of the army,—the lord of Daulatabad and the wicked Fateh Khan were captured by the powerful Moghuls.

[VIII 1-57]

Now, while the Emperor was rejoicing at the capture of Deogiri,(1) and proud Mahmud grieving over the defeat of his forces, Shahaji took forcible possession of Shivneri and many other hill-forts of Nizamshah.

Gradually occupying the valleys of the holy Godavari, the powerful Pravara, the Nira, with waters limpid like those of the Milky Sea, and the terrible Bhima, he established his rule over that country, and also over the Sahya mountains.

When he opposed the lord of Delhi, many Maratha chieftains—Ghatge, Kate, Gaikwad, Kank, Thombre, Chavan, Mohite, Mahadik, Kharate, Pandhre, Wagh, Ghorpade, and others—joined him and were given commands by him.

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(1) Another name for Daulatabad.

Then with the object of putting down Shahaji, the son of Jehangir hastened to make peace with Adilshah; and the river Bhima became the frontier of those two would-be conquerors of Shahaji.

For three years did Shahaji, mighty as the Sun, carry on war with the forces of Shah Jehan and Adilshah.

Then the God Shiva, appearing to him in a dream and having received his obeisance, spoke thus, dazzling his eyes with the splendour of his teeth :—

"This splendid Emperor of Delhi is unconquerable on Earth; therefore, O wise one, give up your persistence in fighting. While the merit lasts that this evil one has put together by practising penance of old, he cannot be destroyed. All these Yavanas, my son, are born of Asuras, and bear perpetual hatred to Gods and Brahmins. This your son Shivaji, that is in reality God Vishnu, who has descended to this Earth to annihilate these Yavanas, will presently bring about what you desire; therefore, O valiant one, wait for some time."

After the gracious God Shiva had thus spoken, the king awoke at dawn with tranquil mind.

Then of the Nizam's territories, excepting his own jagir, Shahaji gave part to the Emperor and part to Adilshah.

Thus did Shahaji, though by nature obstinate, give up his obstinacy and make terms with Adilshah and the Moghuls, at the behest of God Shiva.

[IX 1-21]

(5) Shahaji in Bijapur Service ; conquests in the Karnatak

[Shahaji entered Bijapur service in 1636 A.D. and took part in the expeditions of Randulla Khan against the Karnatak (see Sarkar—Aurangzib, Vol. I, pp. 253-4). On Randulla Khan's return he was appointed to govern the territories of Bijapur in the Karnatak.]

Then, when the aggressive Moghuls had gone back in great glee, having obtained possession of the Nizam's territory, the wise Adilshah, perceiving his own weakness, thought thus to himself: "These powerful Moghuls, who overwhelmed the Nizam in war, will perhaps do the same by me also; so let me enlist the help of this valiant son of Maloji and accomplish my objects.

"It was through his support that Ibrahim, my father, formerly got rid of his foes and reigned at ease; then after Ibrahim, when I foolishly insulted him all of a sudden, he cared not, and left me in pride. That valiant, proud Shahaji had been raised up by Ibrahim with an affection exceeding even that which he showed to me."

So thinking, the illustrious Mahmud immediately sent some ministers to Shahaji.

Those persuasive ministers won him over, and he promised to help Adilshah.

And finding valuable support in Shahaji, Mahmud rejoiced very much.

Then the powerful Mahmud sent Randulla, son of Faradkhan, whose place in battle was always in the van, and who was the favourite of the whole army, as general to conquer the Karnatak together with the mighty Shahaji...........

Then the ambitious Shahaji Bhonsle reached the Karnatak in the company of that general.

Then Shahaji gave great satisfaction to the general Randulla by conquering the following and many other kings:—*viz.*, the powerful Virabhadra, King of Bednur; the well-known Kenga Naik of Basavapattana; King Jagaddeva of Kaveripattana; the cruel lord of Srirangapattana, by name Kanthirava; the brave Vijayaraghava, King of Tanjore; the noble Venkata Naik, King of Chanji; the proud lord of Madura, named Trimal Naik; the formidable King of Piluganda, named Venkata; the wise Srirangaraja, King of Vidyanagar; and the famous Tammagauda, lord of Hamsakuta.

And after fighting, day and night, an engagement which resulted in the destruction of many brave men, the beautiful city of Bangalore was taken from that great soldier, Kempa Gaunda, and when Randulla made a present of it to Shahaji, that triumphant lord made it his residence.

[IX 22-44]

(6) Shahaji's captivity

[Shahaji's captivity and the incidents connected with it form the subject of five chapters (XI-XV). The account of Shahaji's captivity given by Professor Sarkar (Shivaji, pp. 37-42), on the authority of the Muhammad-namah and the Basatin-i-Salatin differs in several respects from that of Grant Duff, which is apparently based on Chitnis. According to the former, the Bijapur king's anger was due, not to Shahaji's supposed complicity with Shivaji's aggressions in Maharashtra, but to his own insubordination in the Karnatak; and Baji Ghorpade did not seize Shahaji by treachery at an entertainment, but he seized him after an attack on his camp one day in the early morning at the command of the Bijapur commander-in-chief Mustafa Khan. It is noteworthy that the account of the Shiva-Bharat is similar to that of the Muhammadan historians. Shahaji was believed to have become over-mighty in the Karnatak, and the Hindu princes there, under his inspiration, had "ceased to fear the Muhammadans". The Bijapur King, therefore, sent Mustafa Khan to arrest Shahaji. At first Mustafa Khan was all friendship and cordiality; and he and Shahaji encamped near each other. Then one night Mustafa Khan called together his commanders, acquainted them with the king's instructions, and ordered them to attack Shahaji's camp at early dawn, and seize his person. That night there were portents in Shahaji's camp, but they went unheeded. Accordingly when the attack was made, Shahaji and his men were taken by utter surprise. His men hastily got ready to fight, and one of them, Khandoji Patil, fought against heavy odds; Shahaji also fought desperately, but was exhausted at last and was taken prisoner by Baji Ghorpade.

Detachments were then sent against Sambhaji, who held Bangalore, and against Shivaji, who held Purandhar, and prepared to fight. The main part of the army sent against Shivaji under Fateh Khan occupied Belsar, while a detachment occupied Shirwal, within a few miles of Purandhar. This latter was driven away by a party sent by Shivaji from Purandhar under Kavji. The attempt of Fateh Khan on Purandhar itself ended in a decisive defeat; one of his lieutenants, Musekhan, was killed, and he and his army took to flight. Sambhaji similarly defeated the forces sent against him at Bangalore, and Adilshah at last thought it best to liberate Shahaji on condition that Bangalore and Sinhgad were restored.

As the Shiva-Bharat is the only authority which tells us of these engagements at Shirwal and Purandhar, one may hesitate to accept them, but the Shiva-Bharat is surprisingly corroborated by a letter, printed at pages 53-54 in the Shiva-Charitra-Sahitya(1). The letter was written soon after the above-mentioned engagements. Anaji Namaji, a poor Brahmin of Shirwal, makes an application to the Deshmukh of that place for a plot of land to build a house on. He has for same time been living in his house within the walls of Shirwal fort, but recently when "Shahaji was taken captive and his son Shivaji began to fight with the king's officers from Purandhar, the commander-in-chief Fatehkhan sent Fazalshah and Ashafshah(2) to Shirwal; they seized the fort; against them Shivaji advanced from Purandhar; an engagement ensued," in the course of which several houses within the fort were burnt down, of which the poor Brahmin's was one. And as the Deshmukh is known to be a protector ("chhatra") of Brahmins, the application is made to him for a piece of land. It is satisfactory to learn that the Brahmin's desire was granted.]

By the use of the six expedients(3), and by means of various strokes of policy, Shahaji brought the whole Karnatak territory under subjection.

The suppliant Jagaddeva(4) received his command with his head bent in obeisance, as if it were a flower.

The lord of Madura, albeit formidable, became obedient to Shahaji; the king of Mysore, too, became subject.

Virabhadra, through his help, once more took his seat on his throne, which had been forcibly taken away by the wicked Randullakhan.

Owing to the power of the shrewd Shahaji who employed each different device on each different occasion, many gave up all fear of Muhammadans.

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(1) Edited by K. V. Purandare and published by the Bharata-Itihas Samshodhak Mandal, 1926.

(2) The Ashraf Shah of the Shiva-Bharat (XIII 9, XIV 41, 46, etc.) Fazal Shah is not mentioned by the Shiva-Bharat.

(3) Those mentioned in works on Politics, *viz.*, Sandhi (peace), Vigraha (war) Yāna, (expedition) Asana (halting), Samsraya (seeking shelter) and Dvaidha (duplicity).

(4) Of Kaveripattana (see above p. 12).

With Shahaji's counsel did Randulla, though to others intolerable, do all government business.

Then after a time the general Randulla passed away; still each successive general that Adilshah sent to the Karnatak to bring the chiefs of that country at once under his own immediate control, followed Shahaji, and pursued Shahaji's objects.

Then the son of Ibrahim (Mahmud Shah) took to an evil policy, and proudly commissioned Mustufakhan to arrest the Bhonsle chief.

[XI 3-11]

Then hearing that the famous, proud, well-born Mustufakhan, a man in the confidence of the Adilshah,..........having been made general, was coming with a great many captains, Shahaji, though distrustful, still pretending to feel trust, went forth hastily, together with his army, to receive him.

Then the two, showing greater and ever greater cordiality to each other, met with great pomp on the way, like great friends.

They made many valuable presents to each other of garments, and ornaments, and elephants, and horses.

Then the powerful Bhonsle king encamped his own army near the camp of Mustufa's.

Every time Mustufakhan looked for a vulnerable point, he found Shahaji very well prepared.

In order to inspire confidence in himself, he pretended friendship, and put forward Shahaji himself in every business.

He (Mustufakhan) rose hastily, or went forward a long distance, to receive him; shook hands, rejoiced, held him by the arm; made him share his seat; turned to face him; spoke smilingly; looked beamingly; divulged many policies; placed him in front in every business; gave costly presents; showed familiarity; lavished praises; indulged freely in jokes; talked philosophy with him; stimulated jealous care for his own interests; spoke of his own affairs;—thus did the Muhammadan day by day exhibit his confidence in Shahaji.

[*Ib.* 16-28]

[Then one night Mustufakhan calls his officers together, tells them that he has that day received a message from the Adilshah, ordering him to arrest Shahaji, and exhorts them to seize Shahaji at early dawn, before he has got up. The same night there are fearful portents in Shahaji's camp. Neither these, however, nor the news brought by his spies that Mustufa's officers were fully prepared in their tents, ready for some movement, sufficed to put Shahaji on his guard.]

[Then early next morning] Dilawar, Masood, Sarja Yakoot, Ambar, the king of Adonee and also that of Karnapoor; Farad and Kairat—these two; also Yakoot Sarathi; Azam and Bahlol; the proud Malik Rahan; Raghava, son of Mamba, Vedoji Bhaskar, and the powerful Ballal, son of Haibatrao—three proud Brahmin commanders; Sidhoji and Mambaji Pawar; Mambaji Bhonsle;—and many other commanders

belonging to different families, full of martial ardour, and wielding mighty weapons; shaking the sky, as it were, with their multitudinous flags; pulverising the earth, as it were, with their horses' hoofs; setting the three worlds on fire, as it were, with their lustre;........besieged Shahaji's camp according to the order of Mustufa.

In Shahaji's camp the elephants had not been equipped; the horses had not been harnessed; the soldiers' units were not ready; the leader had not yet risen from sleep; the watchmen were dozing on account of the excessive fatigue due to keeping awake through the night;—so that camp became helpless through panic.

.... Then the long-armed Bajirao Ghorpade, of terrible deeds, accompanied by his brothers Khandoji, Amboji, and Manaji, and by other captains round about; surrounded, too, by men carrying swords, and bows and lances, and matchlocks, and discs; Jaswantrao Wadve, a second submarine fire, as it were; Maloji Raje, ornament of the Pawar family; and the famous Tuloji Raje, of the Bhonsle family;—all these powerful men, pulverising the earth with the hoofs of the proud horses they rode, entered Shahaji's camp.

Then these proud men, bent on victory, awakened Shahaji with their loud war cries, as elephants awaken the lion.

Immediately on getting up, Shahaji hearing that the enemy had come, loudly commanded his soldiers to get ready, while doing so himself.

"A horse, a horse! A sword, a sword! a lance, a lance!"—such like cries arose in Shahaji's camp.

Now, while the long-armed, valiant Shahaji was getting ready, and while his great army, too, was confounded by the sudden danger, Khandoji Patil alone, who always moved about freely, like a lion, in every battle, advanced single-handed against the Ghorpades.

[XII 1-25]

[A long description of the battle, in some 80 stanzas, follows. Shahaji is taken prisoner at last.]

[*Ib* 26-119]

The wise ones asked:—

"Then on hearing that his father had been arrested by his enemies, what did Sambhaji do, and also Shivaji?

And, after arresting the Maharaja, what did the unrighteous General Mustufa do, and the evil-minded Mahmud?"

Kavindra replied:—

On hearing that his father had been arrested by his enemies, Sambhaji at Bangalore got very angry.

Brave Shivaji too, learning this news of Shahaji, vowed vengeance on Adilshah.

On the other hand, the proud Mustufa lost no time in ordering Tanaji, the chief of the Dure family, Vithal Gopal, a Brahmin, but following the vocation of arms, and the aged Faradkhan, to start at once, with a view to the capture of Bangalore.

Then the shrewd Mahmud also ordered his commanders to attack Shivaji's territory.

Then the high-minded Fateh Khan, the commandant; Minad Shaikh and Ratan Shaikh; the irate Fateh Khan; cruel Ashrafshah, the famous archer;— these Muhammadans, in full armour and well-equipped; Mattaraj Ghatge, whose arrows were like thunderbolts; also the powerful Baj Naik, lord of Phaltan; and hundreds of other feudatories . . . . quickly came up and occupied the town of Belsar.

And the son of Haibatrao, Ballal by name, a clever man and an expert archer, ferocious, a second Asvatthaman as it were, in appearance like a lion, accompanied by a numerous army, reached Shirwal without any hindrance from Shivaji's army.

Then, hearing of their coming, Shivaji, who was in the fort of Purandhar, like the son of Indra, of smiling and modest countenance, in full armour, well-equipped, with bow and arrows in hand, addressed these words to his brave men, equal to Balarama (in valour):—

"How has the Maharaja, my father, with all his affluence, come to grief through reposing trust in Mustufakhan! . . . .

My proud brother at Bangalore, besieged by Farad Khan and other enemies, will fight there.

And guarding these mountain fortresses without fear, I shall fight here with the enemy with the help of my well-equipped army. . . . .

Some time ago, I took the famous Jayavalli (Javli) and established Chandrarao in it—Chandrarao who coveted that place.

The fierce Ghorpades, like irate serpents, became very quiet when they met me the charmer.

Suddenly advancing for battle, I forced the Raja of Phaltan to flee, and, having taken him alive, let him go.

Now these assembled warriors, Fateh Khan and others, will find us out and fight like infuriated elephants.

This powerful Ballal, leading a strong force, thinks much of himself because he has taken Shirwal.

Go hence at once, therefore; capture this same very powerful person to-day, and set Shirwal free.

Then either to-morrow or the day after we shall find out the mighty Fatehkhan either here or there and fight him."

The Kavindra said:—

Having heard these words of Shivaji, those soldiers, in their thousands, filled the air with their tremendous war-cry.

Then the well-armed Godaji Jagtap, destructive to enemies, and loving a good fight; Bhimaji Wagh, terrible like another Bhima(1) as it were; Sambhaji Kate, who destroyed the enemy's pride in his own prowess; Shivaji Ingle, terrible like the God of Death. . . . . . ; the captain Bhikaji Chor, fearless in fighting, ... ; his brother Bhairao, fearful in battle like the god Bhairava(2) ;—these warriors of the lord of mountain forts (Shivaji), resplendent like the Sun, and each one lovely with his own splendour, made their obeisance to Shivaji, and set off.

At their head Shivaji placed Kavuka (Kavji), as Krishna placed Satyaki(3) at the head of the Yadava warriors.

Fully equipped, they descended from Purandhar; their war-cries were like peals of thunder; their horses were well equipped. They passed the night there, and starting (next morning) to conquer the enemy, caused drums to be beaten.

Then, rending the earth, as it were, with the tramp of foot-soldiers; cutting the sky, as it were, with their horses' hoofs; scattering the fire of the universal destruction, as it were, on their enemies,—these brave men rejoiced when presently they approached Shirwal.

[XIII 1-61]

[A description of the battle. Ballal is killed, his men are routed, and Kavji returns to Purandhar with rich booty.]

[*Ib* 62-130]

Hearing that the mighty son of Haibat had been killed in battle, the proud Fatehkhan waxed wroth with Shivaji.

Then surrounded by powerful Muhammadans like Musekhan, guarded by Mattaji and many other princes, and accompanied all round by feudatories, proud as elephants, he advanced forthwith to conquer Shivaji .... Rapidly bringing his ocean-like army for an engagement, that Adilshahi general came within sight of Purandhar.

Proud Fatehkhan encamped that mighty, moving army not far from that mountain.

Seeing that the hostile army had approached, the son of Shahaji sounded the war-drum on the top of the hill.

At the sound of that drum the hearts of the enemy's men trembled, as the Manasa lake trembles on account of the wind.

But proud Fatehkhan, surrounded by Musekhan and other brave warriors, of like quality to himself, ... began immediately to ascend the hill of Purandhar. . . . . . . Then seeing the enemy on all sides engaged in ascending the hills the captains of Shivaji's army uttered their war-cry like angry lions.

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(1) One of the five Pandava brothers, of Mahabharata fame.

(2) One of the forms of the God Shiva.

(3) A warrior of the Yadava clan, who took part with the Pandavas in the Mahabharata war.

Shivaji's men in their thousands showered on the enemy red-hot iron balls, discharged from the mouths of guns; and matchlock bullets; and many huge stones; and hundreds of rockets; and also many stones from slings. . .

Then the soldiers of the Adilshahi army, reduced to bits by the numerous iron balls, discharged from guns, ... flew up into the sky and gave satisfaction to a multitude of vultures.

Then the rockets, looking like fiery portents, falling from the sky with a terrific noise, whirled round, like serpents breathing forth flames of poisonous fire, and put the Muhammadan army to flight.

A single swift bullet issuing from a matchlock passed through many Muhammadans and brought them to the ground.

Some, their chests battered by the stones hurled down by those in the fort, swooned away, and came to a stop in midway. . . . . Seeing that army thus repulsed by the enemy, Musekhan aid to the warriors of his own community :—

"Are not these falling stones like a succession of portents? Falling all round, they are killing our officers.

A triumph indeed is this for the lord of Purandhar (Shivaji) that by his prowess he is conquering such valiant men as ourselves.

Our swords have brought us fame throughout the world; as such, it would be highly disgraceful for us to flee from here.

Cast not a step behind; look at the fort in front: generally victory does not desert a man who is standing firmly in battle."

Even while saying this, that high-spirited man began to ascend the slope of the Purandhar hill, together with the feudatories, steady in battle. With Ashrafshah, his own numerous soldiers, the two Shaikhs, Raja Mattaji, the powerful chief of Phaltan, Fatehkhan's men, and a great many feudatories,—with these he looked like a tremendous cloud with many big, thundering clouds round about.

[XIV 1-42]

[The charge is repulsed, and Musekhan himself killed. Fatehkhan returns to Bijapur].

Hearing that Musekhan had been killed by the enemy on the slope of Purandhar; that another huge army had been forcibly repulsed; and that Fatehkhan had turned back and had come near Bijapur, Mahmud was comfortless day and night.

And, sorrowing in mind on account of the defeat of Fatehkhan, Mahmud long thought thus to himself :—

"Alas, although cherished by us day and night, these Kshatriyas, seizing favourable opportunity, are now hitting at us Muhammadans.

This bold bad man, Shahaji, having flourished by my patronage, now pays scant respect to my orders.

This irascible fellow fought stubbornly and defeated Randulla near Pandharpur.

He won over Malik Ambar with his policy; unrestrained, he struck at the king of Argal.

Even the Nizam, who had long looked after him like a father, was basely deceived by him.

By his counsel, the Karnatak Rajas, giving up their dependence on me, are proclaiming themselves *his* dependants.

Inspite of repeated invitations, he did not present himself; and he rendered our success doubtful.

At one time he rendered many services to Ibrahim; the latter, too, graciously installed him in a high position.

For that reason was it that even when he swerved widely from the proper path, I still forgave him hundreds of faults every day.

But very serious offences I was unable to forgive; then I ordered Mustufakhan to arrest him.

But he having been arrested, his sons, Sambhaji and Shivaji, have risen, and are fighting in order to overwhelm me.

For the sake of his father, Farad was defeated on that side by Sambhaji; on this, Fatehkhan has been routed in battle by Shivaji.

Powerful indeed is Sambhaji! He, by his triumph, has today broken, not Farad, but my heart.

Holding in his hands two forts like Sinhgad and Purandhar, how should Shivaji not be defiant towards me, his enemy?

The great hill of Purandhar, where this terrible fight has just taken place, will be extremely difficult for us to take.

This Shahaji has stationed Sambhaji in Bangalore, and Shivaji in the fort of Purandhar; how can he be defeated by us?

If I do not release the father of Sambhaji and Shivaji, I must resign for ever all this splendid fortune.

Of the two plans—the one that he should be released, the other, that he should not,—the first, I think, would be the more advantageous to me."

. . . . After thinking for a long time to himself the wise Adilshah spoke about this to his counsellors; they, too, immediately agreed to it.

Then Mahmud had Shahaji . . . . .brought near himself, made him sit in a place suited to his position, and coaxing him, said joyously :—

"What came from me through ignorance,—know that I did not do it purposely. There is nothing in this world, O Raja, which a knowing man like you cannot understand.

What little wrong might have been done by Mustufa, or by Afzal, through intense hate, consider it, O great Raja, to have been done by me. . . . . Let a bad man do thousands of wrongs; a good man still returns them with thousands of good offices. . . . .

Instruct your younger son, that mountain of pride ; and, O Maharaja return to me my Sinhgad.

The persistent idea of taking Sinhgad does not at all leave me ; let Purandhar, however, by my order remain to Shivaji.

Let him, also, defeated by whom Farad took to flight, [*i.e.*, Sambhaji] make a present of Bangalore to me.

. . . . What need of speaking more ? I am now yours, and you mine ; our holding fast to each other will be the support of the world."

. . . . Then, when he had been released and properly honoured, the Adilshah had many elephants and horses fastened at the door of his house.

. . . . Immediately on release, Shahaji got together a large army, and the whole Earth shone with his splendour.

Then the long-armed Sambhaji at once gave up the city of Bangalore at the command of his father—a command which was not to be disobeyed.

Shivaji, too, gave up Sinhgad for the sake of his father—a weighty consideration—even though he was well able to fight, and though Sinhgad was not at all a place to be given up.

Then Shahaji, who had collected a large army, having been given leave by the Adilshah—who looking upon him as his own man, honoured him with words of praise, and won him over by frequent presents—set out to vanquish the enemy.

[Ch. XV]

II.—THE TANJORE INSCRIPTION

[An enormous inscription in Marathi was carved in the year 1803 A.D. on the walls of the Brhadishwar temple at Tanjore at the instance of Raja Sarfoji of the Tanjore house (1798-1832), who, as is well known, was educated by the famous Danish missionary Dr. Schwarz. "Such a large historical inscription" says Mr. Sardesai (Main Currents p. 64) "is nowhere else to be found in the whole world." It professes to give the whole history of the Maratha kingdom of Tanjore. For the earlier part the author seems to have relied on the Shiva-Bharat (or, it may be, a translation of the latter), and the inscription, therefore, has no independent value as a source for our period. Comparison of the following extract with No. 2 above will make this clear.

There are two editions of the inscription, one by Mr. V. K. Rajwade and the other by Mr. Samba Murti Rao.]

How the Jadhavs and the Bhonsles fell out

Then after some days Vithoji Raje, the uncle of these two [*i.e.*, Shahaji and Sarfoji] died. All his eight sons were in the service of Nizamshah. Then on a certain occasion Nizamshah summoned all his vassals to court. The following were those that attended :—First, the two brothers Shahaji and Sarfoji, sons of Maloji; their eight cousins, sons of Vithoji; Jadhavrao, father of Shahaji's second wife; his son Dattaji; also another eminent chief, by name Khandagle. The court being over, all began to come out, and there was a great rush. Then the elephant of the above-mentioned chief Khandagle got furious and killed many men. So Dattaji, son of Jadhavrao, took a sword and made for the elephant. Then two of Vithoji's eight sons, Sambhaji and Kheloji, from friendship with Khandagle, inhibited Dattaji, saying he had no business to kill the elephant. Then Dattaji got angry, and said "What! Do you come in my way, when I was minded to kill the beast, who has injured so many?" And so high words followed, and from words they came to blows. In the fight that ensued, Sambhaji, son of Vithoji, was active with his hand, and Dattaji was killed. His father Jadhavrao had gone ahead, but learning that his son had met his death at the hand of Sambhaji.....returned forthwith to fight with Sambhaji and Kheloji. Then Shahaji also went forward and joined in the fight, for though Jadhavrao was his father-in-law, he was fighting on the side of his cousins Sambhaji and Kheloji. Shahaji was stunned by a blow from his father-in-law Jadhavrao. Then the latter, not proceeding further with his son-in-law Shahaji, who had fainted, proceeded instead against his associates. In the fight Sambhaji, son of Vithoji, was killed by Jadhavrao. Presently, when Shahaji had recovered from his swoon and resumed fighting, Nizamshah learnt the whole affair, stayed the hand of Jadhavrao,—representing that for Jadhavrao, inspite of his prowess, that was not the proper time to fight, when he had been bereaved of a son,—and sent every one to his proper place. Jadhavrao went home and lived in great dudgeon.

[P. 7]

III.—RADHA-MADHAVA-VILASA-CHAMPU

[After his release, Shahaji was again sent to the Karnatak. He took a very prominent part in the conquest of the Southern Karnatak, and in the invasion of Goa, and appears to have kept a splendid court at Bangalore, and patronised men of learning on a liberal scale. Two documents illustrate this phase of Shahaji's career.

I First, we have the Radha-Madhava-Vilasa-Champu, a prose-poem by a man called Jayaram Pindye, another of whose works, known as the Parnala-Parvata-Grahan-Akhyana ("Capture of the Fort of Panhala"), has recently been brought to light (see below p. 118). The Champu was discovered by the late Mr. V. K. Rajwade and published, with a long introduction, in 1922. It falls into three parts. The first consists of five chapters (Ullasas), and follows the regular Champu model. It describes the loves of Radha and Krishna. The second, consisting of Chapters VI-X, describes how the poet visited the court of Shahaji, and what happened to him there. All these ten chapters are in Sanskrit, and the style is of that late vicious type which delights in long compounds and far-fetched conceits. The third part, called Chapter XI, is a sort of appendix, and gives the poems in vernacular composed by Jayaram and other poets of Shahaji's court. These are given separately at the end because it was not considered proper to include them in the body of the Sanskrit work. The poet's own account of the manner in which, and the time when, the work was composed, is confused and inconsistent. Mr. Rajwade thought that the work was being composed during the period 1653-1658. This view was vigorously criticised by the late Mr. Lakshman Rao (in the Vividha Jnana-Vistara, a well-known Marathi magazine) who assigned it to the beginning of the reign of Vyankoji or Ekoji, who inherited Shahaji's jagir in the Karnatak. Perhaps we may say that most of the work was written during the life-time of Shahaji (Shahaji died in 1664), but that it was actually put together and edited early in the reign of Vyankoji.

The amount of historical information to be gathered from the Champu is slight. There are references to Shahaji's expedition against Mir Jumla, against different Rajas of the Karnatak, and against the Firangis, (presumably the Portuguese of Goa); to his being a Sisodia Rajput; and there is a comparison between Shahaji and Shah Jehan. Some of these passages are given below. Knowing to what length a poet's eulogy of his patron can go, we must take these passages with a grain of salt. Of greater interest is the poet's account of his visit to the court of Shahaji. Having heard of the fame of Shahaji, he tells us, and of the patronage he extended to learning, the poet thought of travelling from his home near Nasik to Bangalore. He did so, and through a man called Shivaraya Gosvamin, was introduced to Shahaji at his court. On being introduced, he placed twelve cocoanuts before Shahaji. Being asked the reason for this, he explained that this was to show that he

could compose poems in twelve languages. Asked to produce a specimen of his work, he had the Radha-Madhava-Vilasa-Champu recited. Shahaji was pleased, but said "The real test of a poet is in the completing of a Samasya.(1) So let us all give him Samasyas to fill." So Shahaji himself set a Samasya in Sanskrit; he was followed by Malhari Bhatta, Naropant Hanmante and others (fifteen persons are mentioned by name); then more persons came forward to set Samasyas in different vernaculars (thirty-five of these are mentioned). The poet acquitted himself satisfactorily, was given presents and entertained by Shahaji at his court.

This is of interest from the light it throws on the culture of 17th Century Marathas. The account is too circumstantial to be entirely without foundation in fact. Naropant Hanmante, and his sons Janardanpant and Raghunathpant, mentioned in the Champu, are well-known historical personages. Prabhakarbhatta, Shahaji's *purohita* (chaplain), is mentioned as such also in the Shiva-Bharat (X 22) and in Sabhasad. Naropant "looked up, yawned, and shook his body" when setting the Samasya. One feels tempted to think that Shahaji must at least have understood Sanskrit, and that his court must have contained men understanding the different languages in which Samasyas were set. We must, it seems, credit the Marathas of the 17th Century with more culture than we have been used to doing.]

EXTRACTS

(1) Vishnu asks Brahma "You have created the world; say who protects it in what quarter." Brahma replies: "All the three worlds are well: you may sleep on in the Milky Ocean.(2) The Sun and the Moon are there in the East and the West; and, for the protection of the North and the South, on this side there is Shahaji and on that Shah Jehan.

[p. 250, St. 10]

(2) When Shahaji took the sword in hand, the Firangis turned pale.

[p. 247, St. 3]

(3) When Mir Jumla was shut up by all in the fort (of Gootee) he began a stubborn fight, but never yielded any money; then he saw king Shahaji Bhonsle, with his formidable army; he was afraid in his mind, and, being afraid, came to terms.

[p. 256, St. 43]

II. [The following letter of Shahaji was also discovered by Mr. Rajwade and printed by him in the magazine "Ramdas and Ramdasi". It has also been printed, with an English translation, by Mr. Sardesai in the Shivaji Souvenir. It seems to have been written in about July, 1657. The points of interest in the letter are (1) Shahaji's reference to himself as a Rajput, and (2) the light it throws on Shahaji's power in the Karnatak. "Shahaji's tone . . . . is distinctly threatening," and it appears from the places mentioned in the letter that "Shahaji's work

(1) This means that a part of a stanza is given, and the rest is to be completed by the poet.

(2) According to Hindu mythology the god Vishnu sleeps in the Ocean of Milk.

of conquest included the vast region from the west coast to the east, near about Jinji, and from the Godavari in the north to about Tanjore in the south" (Sardesai). Thus the letter and the Champu tell the same tale.

The letter is full of Persian words, and is unintelligible in places. The following translation is indebted to that in the Shivaji Souvenir.]

Maharaja Shahaji Raje humbly begs to make the following request to your Majesty:—

"Formerly I conquered for the Government the district of Kanakgiri and received a reward for it. Subsequently I conquered and added to the State Anagondi also. It is a month since then. Still I have not received the jagir for it. The army too, must be satisfied. The rebels of Kundgol are disturbing that neighbourhood and the district of Tamgaud. Your Majesty ordered me to chastise them. The boundary of Mysore, too, is near that side. As without increasing our strength, the rebels would not be subdued and your Majesty's prestige maintained, I have employed about 1,000 or 1,500 more men. All these cannot be maintained without a jagir. That is why I am applying to Your Majesty for a jagir in recognition of my services in Anagondi. The districts to be given should be adjacent to my present lands in *karyat* Akluj and Tape Tembhurni and Bhootgram or Pedne. If it be not convenient to grant lands in these old districts, the jagir should be given in the district of Padshahbad. Or if lands in Padshahbad be not available, then at least the lands in the district of Vaderu, which have been given to the Chanjaurkars, should be given to me. I shall chastise the traitorous rebels, and get that district from them. What is the good of leaving lands in the hands of traitorous rebels? All the rebels' envoys have gone with Mir Jumla. Besides, the district of Musalkal is part of my jagir. Formerly, when with Rustum Zeman I came from Mahuli to His Majesty's presence within twenty days of being summoned, a jagir of 4 lacs was given to me; included in it was the *firman* for Musalkal in my name. Then a second time it was confirmed to me at the request of the late Khan-e-Azam Asadkhan after my services at Lakshmeshwar. For a third time a *firman* in confirmation was given at the time of the late Khan Ahmadkhan. Thus thrice have firmans for Musalkal been given in my name. Copies of these *firmans* doubtless exist in the State records; they should be found out and seen. (1)Under these circumstances, I cannot understand why Your Majesty should have issued separate firmans about the same to my relatives, simply to satisfy them. They carried fabulous reports to Your Majesty, on hearing which Your Majesty was pleased to grant fifteen villages out of my jagir of *karyat* Karwe to Trimbakji [Shahaji's cousin] in return for Musalkal. Where was the need of Your Majesty's doing so?(1) A definite promise was given to me that not a chahur(2) would be taken from my jagir; and that if, at

(1)The meaning of this passage is somewhat doubtful. The original is incomplete, and obscure.

(2)A measure of land, 120 square bighas. The Maratha bigha consists of 400 square kathis or rods; as the rod varies, so does the bigha; under the Adilshahi dynasty it was equal to 4383 square yards, or only 457 square yards less than an English acre. (Wilson.)

any time, the business of state rendered it necessary to take anything from it, it should be taken only after giving ample compensation. If now, at the instigation of worthless people, Your Majesty, improperly and without any reason, has been meddling with my jagir, I must remind Your Majesty that we are Rajput people ; I have served before this under three or four Governments ; but never up to now have I put up with undeserved treatment and served in dishonour and disgrace ; and never shall I do so in future. I have patiently suffered for the last eighteen months, in this faith, that I won golden opinions from His Late Majesty,(1) and Your Majesty also has continued to favour me. Knowing, too, that the time was one of difficulty, I waited, and was patient. But if hereafter Your Majesty has need of me, then my jagir should, as is proper, be restored ; or if Your Majesty has no need of me, then Your Majesty should gladly give me leave. I, too, have no desire left for any ambitious pursuits. I will retire to some sacred place of us Hindus, serve the Almighty, and bless Your Majesty. There are my relatives and children ; Your Majesty will, I hope, continue to take service from them ; or if Your Majesty does not desire to do even that, they also may be given leave ; they will earn their livelihood where their other brethren do ; but I must not be humiliated without any reason. It is for this reason that I am making the present application to Your Majesty etc., etc."

(1) Muhammad Adil Shah, who reigned from 1626 to 1656 A. D

IV.—THE JEDHE CHRONOLOGY

[This is a bare record of events with dates, covering the period 1618-1697 A. D., kept by the Jedhes, Deshmukhs of Kari near Bhor some 30 miles south of Poona. The document was edited by the late Mr. B. G. Tilak and published by the Bharat-Itihas-Samshodhak Mandal, Poona, in the Fourth Sammelan Vritta in 1916.

Prof. Sarkar speaks of the Jedhe Chronology as "a new and very valuable source for the political history of this most interesting and least known formative period of the Maratha State" (*i.e.*, the 17th century). "Its information on some very minute and otherwise unknown points is corroborated in a surprising degree by the English Factory records, which no modern Maratha fabricator could have read." "There are some evident mistakes, which we can detect with the help of the English and Persian sources; but they were due to the copyist and not to any deliberate fabrication."

It was customary in old times for every well-to-do family to keep a chronological record of events of public importance, supplemented by details regarding its own members. It was litigation, perhaps, that necessitated such record. If your title, say, to a particular estate is disputed, you must be able to put up a case (Takarir, Kareena) showing how your ancestors came by it, what services they performed; and for this, again, knowledge of the circumstances amidst which they acted, of the political setting, of the general history of their times, in short, was imperatively necessary. Thus arose the Shakavalis. They may be compared to the ancient Roman family chronicles. Just as the Patrician families maintained family chronicles, partly through family pride, partly, we are told, from the practical necessities arising from the custom of pronouncing funeral orations, so the Shakavalis were maintained, partly, perhaps, through family pride, partly from the practical necessities arising from litigation. The comparison may be carried further; for just as the Roman family chronicles of the earliest period were burned down at the invasion of the Gauls, and little of them survived in historical times, so owing to the decay of old families, few of the Maratha family chronicles have come down to us, and those that have come down are found in a defective state, in incorrect transcripts and with frequent gaps. That of the Jedhes is the best and the most copious we possess.

Whence did the authors of the Shakavalis get their information? From the circumstance that one Shakavali gives us such minute details as these—'on such a day lightning struck the temple at Pratapgad'; 'on such another day Shivaji went to inspect Sinhgad'; etc.—we may safely infer that sometimes at least the authors had absolutely contemporary notices of events available to them. Sometimes, however, when such contemporary notices were not available, they must have relied on hearsay; and so, as Prof. Sarkar says, while the future historian of Shivaji and his sons is bound to make the fullest use of the Jedhe

Shakavali, it would be unsafe to accept each one of its statements blindly.

The dates in the Jedhe Chronology are given in the Shaka era. The corresponding dates in the Julian Calendar are here given in brackets with the help of the Jantri (Tables of corresponding dates) prepared by the late Mr. Ganesh Sakharam Khare and published by the Oriental Book Supplying Agency, Poona. For the first five years, for which Mr. Khare's Jantri is not available, use has been made of Mr. Swamikannu Pillai's Indian Ephemeris. According to the Hindu system each year has a name, and the names are repeated after each cycle of sixty years.]

Shaka 1540 Kalayukta (17th March 1618—6th March 1619)

Kartik Vadya 1 (Saturday, 24th October 1618)—Birth of Aurangzib.

1546 Raktakshi (10th March 1624—26th February 1625)

Kartik (3rd—31st October 1624)—Malik Ambar defeated the combined armies of the Moghul Subhedar Lashkar Khan and the Adilshahi Mulla Mahammad at Bhatavdi.

Malik Ambar besieged and took Sholapur from the Bijapur king.

1547 Krodhana (27th February 1625—17th March 1626)—Sultan Khurram, son of the Emperor Jehangir, got angry with the latter and went into Nizamshahi territory: Malik Ambar gave him shelter in the Nizamshahi kingdom.

1548 Kshaya (18th March 1626—7th March 1627)

Vaishakh (17th April—15th May 1626)—Death of Malik Ambar.

1550 Vibhava (26th March 1628—14th March 1629)—Sultan Khurram became Emperor of Delhi under the title of Shah Jehan.

Kartik Krishna 5, Thursday (6th November 1628)—Kanhoji Naik Jedhe's first wife, Savitribai, daughter of Pasalkar, gave birth to a son Baji Naik.

1551 Shukla—

Phalgun Vadya 3, Friday (19th February 1630)—Constellation Hasta, Shivaji Raje was born at Shivneri, at Ghati 18, Pal 31 Gad 5, Pal 7.

Shravan 15 (25th July 1629)—Lukhji Jadhavrao was murdered by Nizamshah.

Chaitra (15th March—13th April 1629)—Ibrahim Adilshah having died and Sulan (sic) Muhammadshah having sat on the throne, Khawaskhan became the Vazir and Murar Jagderao the Karbhari.

1552 Pramoda (4th March 1630—22nd March 1631)—There was a famine this year.

Pausha Vadya 11 (18th January 1631)—Fateh Khan was released and admitted to the court.

1553 Prajapati (23rd March 1631—10th March 1632)—Fateh Khan murdered Burhan Nizamshah.

1554 Angira—

Jyeshtha (10th May—7th June 1632)—Kazi(1) Mahabatkhan captured Daulatabad by siege.

Bhadrapad (6th August—4th September 1632)—Shahaji crowned Nizamshah at Pemgiri.

1557 Yuva (9th March 1635—26th March 1636)—Shahaji went to Mahuli, where he was besieged by Randullakhan Adilshahi and Khan Zeman the Moghul Subhedar. They captured Nizamshah. Shahaji entered Adilshahi service. Randullakhan had taken Kanhoji Jedhe with him at that time: he met the Maharaj [*i.e.*, Shahaji] there.

1558 Dhata to 1561 Pramathi (27th March 1636—12th March 1640)—Basavapattan was captured by Adilshah.

1565 Subhan (11th March 1643—27th February 1644)—Birth of Bahadurshah; he was given the title of Shah Alam.

1570 Sarvadhari—

Shravan Vadya 1 (25th July 1648)—Shahaji was arrested by Mustafakhan near Chandi. With him were Kanhoji Naik Jedhe and Dadaji Krishna; they were sent captives to Kanakgiri; then Dadajipant's son, Ratnajipant, died at Kanakgiri.

1571 Virodhi—

Jyeshtha Shuddha 15 (16th May 1649)—Shahaji was released in return for Kondhana. At the same time Kanhoji Naik Jedhe and Dadaji Krishna Lohokare were released. They met the Maharaj. Then said the Maharaj: "You have been put to the hardships of captivity on my account. Now, it has been settled between the Padshah and myself that I should have a territory of twelve gavs(2) and carry an expedition into the Karnatak according to his orders; accordingly the province of Bangalore, yielding 5 lacs of hons, has been given to me in jagir. So I have to go on the Karnatak expedition. You have your watan in the Mawals, and my son Shivba occupies Khedebare and Poona. You should be by his side in force; you wield great power in that region; you should remain there in force and see that all the Mawal Deshmukhs submit to him and obey him; and should any Moghul or Adilshahi army come against him, you should keep loyal and fight it." To this effect did Shahaji take an oath from him,—and also an oath of loyalty making him place his hands on bread and Bel leaves; and he too in

(1) Probably the copyist's error for 'masi' (in the month of).

(2) A gav = 10 miles.

turn took a similar oath to Kanhoji; and presenting Kanhoji Naik and Dadaji Krishna with dresses of honour, sent them to Shivaji with letters and a trusted attendant of his own.

1576 Jay (9th March 1654—27th March 1655)—A son, named Umaji, was born to Sambhaji; he was born on Kartik Vadya 12 (25th November 1654).

1577 Manmatha—

On Pausha 14 (either 31st December 1655 or 15th January 1656)—Shivaji went and captured Javli; at that time he took with himself the contingents of Kanhoji Jedhe Deshmukh and Bandal and Silimkar, and also that of the Deshmukhs of Mawal, and he fought with the help of these forces and took Javli.

1578 Durmukh—

Vaishakh (15th April—14th May 1656)—Shivaji took Rairee; with him were Kanhoji Jedhe, Deshmukh of Bhor, and the Bandal and the Silimkar Deshmukhs, and the forces of Mawal; Haibatrao and Balaji Naik Silimkar mediated and Chandrarao got down from the fort; thereupon Shivaji gave a fresh seal [*i.e.* issued a fresh Sanad] to Haibatrao Silimkar and made a division [of the property] between the two brothers.

Margashirsha (7th November—5th December 1656)—Sultan Muhammad Adilshah died.

Ashwin Vadya (24th September—7th October 1656)—The King took Supa and arrested Sambhaji Mohite.

Magh Shuddha (5th January—19th January 1657)—Shivaji married Sakwarbai of the Gaikwad family.

1579 Hemalambi—

On Chaitra Vadya 11, Sunday ([1]29th or 30th March 1657) 8 ghatis—Aurangzib arrived at Bidar, having resolved to take it from Adilshah; on Thursday Ashadh Shuddha 3 (4th June 1657) he took it.

Vaishakh Shuddha 5 (8th April 1657)—A marriage connection effected with Jadhavrao.

Jyeshtha (4th May—1st June 1657)—Shivaji fought with Nausirkhan at Ahmednagar.

Kartik Shuddha 15 (10th or 11th November 1657)—The Badi Sahibin murdered Khan Muhammad.

Pausha (25th December 1657—23rd January 1658)—Aurangzib marched to Delhi.

Vaishakh Shuddha 12 (15th April 1657)—A marriage connection was effected with the Ingle family.

Vaishakh (4th April—3rd May 1657)—Junnar was plundered.

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(1) According as we accept the day or the date; for Chaitra Vadya 11, 30th March, is a Monday, and Sunday, 29th March, is Chaitra Vadya 10.

Jyeshtha Shuddha 12 (14th May 1657)—A son, Sambhaji, was born to Shivaji; he was born at Purandhar.

Ashwin Vadya 12 (24th October 1657)—Kalyan Bhiwandi was taken by the Raja [Shivaji]. Then a force of cavalry and foot soldiers was sent under Dadaji Bapuji as Subha. At the same time Shivaji obtained from Kanhoji Naik Jedhe the services of Dadaji Krishna Lohokare and his brother Sakho Krishna Lohokare, and appointed them to the charge of Kalyan and Bhivandi respectively. Dadaji Krishna had his cousin Yesiji Gopnath substituted to the duties he was performing for Kanhoji Naik Jedhe.

1580 Vilambi—

Pausha (15th December 1658—12th January 1659)—Fateh Khan was killed at Bijapur by poisoning.

Shravan (21st July—18th August 1658)—Bahlol Khan was killed.

Bhadrapad Shuddha 13 (30th August 1658)—Sonajipant was given a dress of honour and sent to Delhi.

1581 Vikari (13th March 1659—1st March 1660)—Aurangzib ascended the throne.

Vaishakh (12th April—11th May 1659)—A *Firman* came from the Adilshah to the Deshmukhs of the Mawal to join Afzalkhan. Now Kedarji Khopde was with Afzalkhan already. Khandoji, son of Dharmoji Khopde, Deshmukh of Utroli, went to Afzalkhan.

Along with the other Deshmukhs of Mawal, Kanhoji Naik Jedhe had received a *Firman*; with it and with his five sons Kanhoji went to Rajgad to see Shivaji. He showed the *Firman* to the latter. Then Shivaji said "Your neighbours, Kedarji and Khandoji Khopde, Deshmukhs of Utroli, have gone to Afzalkhan; if you stay, and do not obey the king's order, your watan will be in danger; it is a difficult situation, and a matter of life and death; so you also should go." To this Kanhoji Naik replied "The Maharaj [*i.e.*, Shahaji] has given me into your hands after taking an oath from me; that oath and that loyalty still remain; my watan I have placed at your feet; I and my sons are prepared to lose our lives for your sake. So let come what may." So saying, he took an oath. Shivaji asked him to pour water down the hand in renunciation of the watan. He did accordingly. Then Shivaji said "Your family are at Kari; you should take them to Talegaon." Then he called back Dadaji Krishna, who had charge of Kalyan, and Kanhoji Naik kept with himself his eldest son Rakhmaji Dadaji, and took his own family, as well as that of Dadajipant, to Talegaon of

the Dhamdheres, in accordance with Shivaji's order. Shivaji and Kanhoji Naik exchanged oaths on bread and bel. Then Kanhoji called together the men of Bandal, and also Haibatrao Silimkar, and Pasalkar, and Marne, and Dhamale, and Maral, and Dohar, took oaths from them in private, and prepared a considerable army. Then Shivaji sent Pantaji Gopnath as envoy to Afzalkhan and arranged a visit at the foot of Pratapgad.

Shravan Shuddha 2 (11th July 1659)—Shivaji came to Javli.

Bhadrapad Vadya 14 (5th September 1659)—Shivaji's wife, Saibai, died.

Kartik (7th October—4th November 1659)—Afzalkhan sent his envoy Krishnarao to Shivaji at Pratapgad. Shivaji presented him with a dress of honour and sent him back after fixing up a visit at the foot of Pratapgad. Then Shivaji held a private consultation with the ministers and Kanhoji Jedhe. "The Mussulman is treacherous. Bandal's forces should remain concealed at Javli and in the jungle of Par. If he perpetrates some treachery at our meeting, his army, which is stationed at Par, should not be allowed to ascend the hill; and succour should be brought to me with some select men. If perchance, by the grace of the Goddess Amba, Afzalkhan meets death, signals will be fired from the fort; you should then attack Par and annihilate the enemy. Haibatrao and Balaji Naik Silimkar have been stationed at the Bochegholi pass with their men; they will not allow the enemy to ascend by that pass."—Thus they consulted and dispositions were made accordingly.

Margashirsh Shuddha 7, Thursday (10th November 1659)—Afzalkhan came to the ridge of Pratapgad in a palanquin, together with envoys and retinue, for the interview. Shivaji came down from the fort to meet him. At the meeting, Shivaji caught Afzalkhan sidewise and killed him. His head was cut off. Jiv Mahala and others and Kanhoji Naik's son, Baji Sarjarao, fought splendidly. When the preconcerted signal was fired from Pratapgad, Kanhoji Naik Jedhe with his men, and Bandal too, fell on Par and began to kill the enemy; the enemy's forces were annihilated; a few escaped; Khandoji Khopde was captured alive; he was punished by Shivaji. Kanhoji Naik Jedhe and others, who had remained faithful, were commended. It was settled that the Jedhes should have the first honour of the sword.

Margashirsha Vadya 9, Monday (28th November 1659) at night—Shivaji took Panhala.

Magh Shuddha 14 (16th January 1660)—Shivaji raided Bijapur territory, and exacted tributes along the banks of the Krishna up to Gada Lakshmishwar.

Shivaji asked from Kanhoji Jedhe the services of Kavji Kodhalkar and Waghoji Tupe, and appointed them to commands of a thousand foot. The following occurs in the ballad that was composed—"As Hanuman and Angad were to Raghunath, so are Jedhe and Bandal to Shivaji."

Rustum Zaman and Fazalkhan had a fight with Shivaji near Kolhapur; twelve elephants and two thousand horses were captured by Shivaji; and the enemy fled.

1582 Sharvari—

Chaitra Shuddha 1 (2nd March 1660)—Shivaji returned to Panhala; then Siddi Johar came and besieged it.

Jyeshtha Shuddha 8 (6th June 1660)—Wasota fort was taken.

Ashwin (25th September—23rd October 1660)—Shaistakhan captured the fort of Chakan and then came to Poona.

Wednesday, New Year's Day (24th October 1660)—Shaistakhan crossed the Bhima.

Ashadh Vadya 1 (13th July 1660)—Shivaji descended from Panhala and went to Khelna. Siddi Johar's forces pursued. A close fight ensued. Bandal's men fought magnificently; many men were killed; Baji Prabhu Deshkulkarni was slain. It was then settled that the honour of the sword was to be given first to Bandal and then to Jedhe.

Bhadrapad Vadya 13 (22nd September 1660)—Panhala was ceded to Salabatkhan and peace made.

Magh Shuddha 14, Tuesday(1) (2nd or 3rd February 1661)—There was a fight with Kahar Talabkhan. The fight took place at Umbarkhind. Shivaji was successful. A ransom was taken from the Khan, and he was allowed to proceed.

Magh (21st January—18th February 1661)—Shivaji looted Nizampur(2) and captured Dabhol and Prabhavali.

Paush Shuddha 12 (2nd January 1660)—Moropant was made Mujumdar.

Kartik (24th October—22nd November 1660)—Sonaji Pandit took leave of Shaistakhan and returned to Shivaji at Rajgad.

(1) But Magh Shuddha 14 is not a Tuesday. It is either Saturday or Sunday. Other Chronologies give Magh Shuddha 4 (24th Jan. 1661, not a Tuesday) and Paush (without specifying the date). Paush Shuddha 4 (25th December 1660) *is* a Tuesday.

(2) Probably a misreading for Rajapur.

The Adilshahi fort Parande was ceded to the Moghuls through Shaistakhan.

1583 Plavaga—

Vaishakh Shuddha 11, Monday (29th April 1661)—Shivaji took Shringarpur; the Raja of that place, Suryarao, fled away.

Kartik (14th October—11th November 1661)—Shivaji went to Wardhangad and passed the whole hot season there.

Bhadrapad Shuddha 6 (21st August 1661)—Narhari Anandrao was made Peshwa; Anajipant was made Waknis; palanquins were given to the Sarkarkuns [ministers].

Bulakhi [Bahlolkhan] came and besieged Deiri fort; Kavji Kodhalkar went there, killed 400 men and raised the siege.

Ali Adil Shah proceeded against Siddi Johar Salabatkhan in person, fought and defeated him; he fled to Kelosi, and died after two months.

1584 Shubhakrit (11th March 1662—27th February 1663)—Shivaji in person attacked Jamdarkhan[1] at the Mirya Hill [near Pen] and surprised Pen; on Chaitra Vadya 10, Thursday (3rd April 1662) Moropant was made Peshwa and Nilopant Mujumdar; on Bhadrapad Shuddha 12 (16th August 1662) Anaji Pant was made Soornis. In the fight at Pen Waghoji Tupe was wounded; other men also were wounded; some were killed.

1585 Shobhakrit—

Chaitra Shuddha 8, Sunday (5th April 1663)—Shivaji personally went and surprised Shaistakhan in Poona; Shaistakhan's hand was cut off, and he fled. His son Abdul Fateh was killed. Shivaji entered the Lal Mahal. Chandji Naik, son of Kanhoji Naik, was with him in this fight; Sarjarao was stationed with a body of horse beyond the river. As soon as Shivaji got out by a *dindi* (small hole in the gate) of the Lal Mahal, he mounted a horse and set out for Karyat Mawal with the body of horse. The small parties of soldiers which had been stationed at different places set out also.

Margashirsha (20th November—19th December 1663)—Jaswant Singh came to the foot of Kondhana to lay siege to it.

Magh Shuddha 6, Saturday (23rd January 1664)—Shahaji died.

Magh Vadya 4, Friday (5th February 1664)—Shivaji returned to the fort; on Pausha Vadya 4 (6th January 1664) he had gone and looted Surat.

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(1) Or Namdarkhan? 'J' and 'N' are easily mistaken for each other in Modi.

1586 Krodha—

Jyeshtha Shuddha 14,[1] Monday (28th May 1664)—Jaswant Singh raised the siege of Kondhana. He was removed from Subha's office and Jai Singh was appointed in his place.

Margashirsha (8th November—7th December 1664)—Shivaji looted Khudavadpur.

Paush Vadya 30 (6th January 1665)—Mother Jija was weighed at Mahabaleshwar. A solar eclipse occurred on this day.

Sonajipant also had himself weighed.

Kartik (10th October—7th November 1664)—There was a rupture between Adilshah and Shivaji and Khawaskhan came to Kudal. Shivaji went with his army and killed Ghorpade. There was a fight with Khawaskhan; he fled beyond the Ghat. Sarjarao Jedhe was with Shivaji; he fought splendidly.

Magh (7th January—5th February 1665)—Shivaji sailed for Basnur; he looted that town and returned.

Magh Vadya 5 (25th January 1665)—Sonajipant died.

1587 Vishwawasu—

Chaitra Vadya 10, Friday (31st March 1665)—Shivaji came to Purandhar.

Vaishakh (6th April—5th May 1665)—Jai Singh and Dilirkhan came and laid siege to Purandhar; on Ashadh Shuddha 10 (12th June 1665) Shivaji came, saw Jai Singh and made peace. Sambhaji was given a Panch-Hazari[2] and taken into Moghul service.

Phalgun Shuddha 9, Monday (5th March 1666)—Shivaji and Sambhaji went to visit Aurangzib; Sarjarao Jedhe was taken with them.

There was a break in the previous harmony between Adilshah and the Moghuls, and Jai Singh, Shivaji and Dilirkhan marched against Bijapur in the month of Margashirsha (27th November—26th December 1665). There the Adilshahi forces, Sarjakhan and others, gave battle. Then the Bijapuris gave money secretly and made peace with the Moghuls. Shivaji took leave of Jai Singh and returned to Rajgad.

1588 Parabhava—

Jyeshtha Shuddha 2 (25th May 1666)—Shivaji reached Agra and met Aurangzib. There was a rupture, and Shivaji was placed under watch.

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(1) Jyeshtha Shuddha 14, Saturday=28th May 1664. (2) Command of 5,000.

Shravan Vadya 12 (17th August 1666)—Shivaji escaped from Agra in a basket. Afterwards on Margashirsha Shuddha 5 (20th November 1666) he reached Rajgad together with Sambhaji.

Shravan Vadya 30 (20th August 1666)—Trimbakpant and Raghunathpant Korde were arrested at Agra.

Margashirsha (17th November—15th December 1666)—Pir Miya and Tajkhan were at Deorukh; he(1) was killed after a fight, and an elephant was captured.

1589 Plavanga—

Chaitra Vadya 5 (3rd April 1667)—Trimbakpant Dabir and Raghunathpant Korde escaped from Delhi. Friendship was made between Shivaji and the Moghuls. In this year Shivaji carried out an assessment of land.

Vaishakh (14th April-12th May 1667)—Bahlolkhan and Ekoji Raje besieged Rangna. Shivaji raised the siege forcibly. Then in the month of Bhadrapad (10th August-8th September) peace was made between Shivaji and Adilshah.

Kartik Vadya 5 (27th October 1667)—Sambhaji went to Aurangabad to wait on Shah Alam and(2) the Prince. Peace was made with the Moghuls.

On Kartik Vadya 6 (28th October 1667) the interview [of Shivaji] with Jaswant Singh took place; that with the Prince took place on Monday, Kartik Vadya 13 (4th November 1667); next day he started from Aurangabap for Rajgad.

1590 Kilaka—

On Shravan Shuddha 8, Wednesday (5th August 1668), Prataprao, and on Shravan Shuddha 5, Sunday (2nd August 1668) Niraji Rahuji started with their forces for Aurangabad.

1591 Saumya—

In the month of Bhadrapad (17th August-15th September 1669) Aurangzib harassed Benares, and destroyed temples.

In the month of Paush (14th December 1669-11th January 1670) the peace between the Moghuls and Shivaji came to an end; Prataprao and Anandrao, who with their contingents were with the Prince at Aurangabad, returned to Rajgad.

Magh Vadya 9, Friday (4th February 1670)—Kondhana was captured. Udayabhan, the commandant of the fort, was killed. Tanaji Malusre, the Subhedar of the forces on Shivaji's side, fell.

(1)Who ?

(2)' And ' seems to have been wrongly put in.

Phalgun Shuddha 15 (24th February 1670)—Rajaram was born at Rajgad.

Phalgun Vadya 12, Tuesday (8th March 1670)—Nilopant Mujumdar took Purandhar. Keso Narayan Narhekar fell.

1592 Sadharan—

In the month of Bhadrapad (6th August-4th September 1670) Shivaji from Raigad invaded Moghul territory, and laid siege to Junnar. On Kartik Shuddha 1 (4th October 1670) he went to Surat and looted the city.

Kartik Shuddha 14 (17th October 1670)—While returning from Surat, Shivaji fought with Daudkhan near Dindori, and captured one elephant; then came to Kunjargad, and stayed there. In the month of Margashirsha (3rd November-2nd December 1670) he went to Karanja. On the way he captured Ahivant, Ravla Javla and Markanda forts.

Kartik Vadya (19th October-2nd November 1670) Moropant captured Trimbakgad.

Paush (3rd December 1670-1st January 1671)—Salheri was taken through seduction.

Jyeshtha Shuddha 4, Friday (13th May 1670)—Lohgad was scaled with ladders of ropes.

Ashadh Vadya 2, Wednesday (24th June 1670)—Rohida was taken.

Ashadh Shuddha 9, Thursday (1) (16th June 1670)—Mahuli was taken.

1593 Virodhakrit.—

Vaishakh (29th April-28th May 1671)—Mahabatkhan took by siege Ahivant, Markanda, Javla and Anchalgiri.

Jyeshtha (29th May-26th June 1671)—Bahadurkhan and Dilirkhan came and laid siege to Salheri; in Ashwin (23rd September-22nd October 1671) they raised the siege and went to Aurangabad and camped their forces there.

Magh (20th January-18th February 1672)—Moropant with forces raised the siege of the ridge of Salheri and gave succour [to the besieged].

Prataprao and Anandrao went with an army and caught Bahlolkhan; also Mohokamsing and Darkoji Bhonsle; and captured eleven elephants and 1,700 horses.

In the month of Magh Sultan Shah Alam went from Aurangabad to Delhi.

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(1) Ashadh Shuddha 9 is a Friday. Another chronology gives Shuddha 2 (9th June), which is a Thursday.

1594 Paridhavi—

Jyeshtha Vadya 5 (5th June 1672)—Moropant went and took Jawhar. Vikram Shah, the king of that place, fled to the Moghul territory.

Ashadh (16th June-14th July 1672)—Ramnagar was taken. Its Raja fled to Daman.

Jyeshtha Shuddha 5 (21st May 1672)—Sultan Abdulla Kutubshah, Padshah of Bhaganagar [Golconda] died. His son-in-law, Tanashah was placed on the throne and called Sultan Abdul Hasan. Shivaji's envoy Nirajipant went to Bhaganagar, made an alliance for one lac of hons, and returned to Shivaji, bringing 66,000 hons with himself.

Jyeshtha Shuddha 7 (23rd May 1672)—Kalyanpant passed away at Chinchwad.

Margashirsha (10th November-9th December 1672)—Ali Adilshah died; his son Sultan Shikandar was placed on the throne; Khawaskhan became minister, and the peace between Shivaji and Adilshah came to an end. Babaji Naik Punde, who was [Shivaji's] ambassador at Bijapur, was recalled.

Phalgun Vadya 13 (6th March 1673)—Anajipant captured the fort of Panhala by seduction, sending men with Kondaji Farjand. Sixty men were sent; they took Panhala.

1595 Pramadi—

Chaitra Shuddha 1 (9th March 1673)—Shivaji went from Rairee to Panhala. In the same month (9th March-7th April 1673) a fight took place between Bahlolkhan on the one hand and Prataprao and Anandrao on the other near Bijapur. Victory was won, and one elephant was taken.

Chaitra Vadya 10, Tuesday (1st April 1673)—The fort of Parli was captured. On the auspicious day of Vijaya Dashami (10th October 1673) Shivaji went and looted Bankapur.

Shravan Vadya 9, Sunday (27th July 1673)—Satara was taken. In the month of Kartik (30th October-28th November 1673) there was a fight between Sarjakhan and Vithoji Shinde; Vithoji fell.

Magh Vadya 14, Shivaratra day (24th February 1674)—Bahlolkhan and Prataprao Sarnobat fought at Nivti; Prataprao fell.

Phalgun Vadya 11 (22nd or 23rd March 1674)—The market of Sampgaon was looted. On the way back Anandrao fought with Khidarkhan and captured two elephants.

1596 Anand—

Chaitra Vadya 14 (24th April 1674)—Shivaji took Kelanja—gained a victory in the latter half of the month.

Chaitra Vadya 9, Wednesday [Chaitra is a mistake for Jyeshtha. Jyeshtha Vadya 9, Wednesday, 17th June 1674] midnight—Mother Jijai died at Pachad.

Jyeshtha Shuddha 4, Ghati 5, in the first year(1) (29th May 1674)—Shivaji was invested with the sacred thread. On Jyeshtha Shuddha 6, Saturday (30th May 1674) he married according to Vedic Mantras.

Jyeshtha Shuddha 12, Friday, Ghati 21 pal 34 Vipal 38/40 Si 42—When three ghatis of night remained, Shivaji Raje Bhonsle ascended the throne. Moon 10, Rabilaval, 1084 Suhur.

On the day on which Shivaji ascended the throne, Jedhe, Bandal, and the Deshmukhs and people of Mawal asked for their rewards. To this Shivaji made reply : "The Mawal will have the first honour ; and your watans should be continued by my successors ; even if you commit some wrong it should be forgiven, and you should be looked after."

Magh Vadya 5, Thursday (4th February 1675)—Sambhaji Raje was invested with the sacred thread. On Chaitra Shuddha 13 (18th April 1674) the troops were reviewed at Chiplun, and the Sarnobatship was conferred on Hambirrao Mohite.

Phalgun Vadya 5 (6th March 1675)—Shivaji took horse, and on Chaitra Vadya 5 (obviously of the next year ;= 4th April 1675) laid siege to Phonda. Sarjarao Jedhe was with him.

1597 Rakshasa—

Vaishakh Shuddha 2 (17th April 1675)—Shivaji breached the fort of Phonda by firing a mine. Then in the month of Jyeshtha (15th May-13th June 1675) he captured Shiweshwar and Ankola in Kadwadi [Karwar]. On that occasion Sarjarao Jedhe was with him ; he fought bravely with his sword. Having conquered..........,(2) Shivaji went to Raigad. At this time Babaji Naik Punde died. On Margashirsha Shuddha 5 (11th November 1675) Satara was captured. Khawaskhan seized Bahlolkhan(3) and became minister himself. Moon 3, Ramjan (11th November 1675).

(1)This shows that the date in the Shaka era was arrived at by calculation from an original record made in the Mahomedan Fasli era. The Fasli year 1084 takes in two Jyeshthas, that of the Shaka year 1596 as well as that of 1597. The words "in the first year" mean that it is the Jyeshtha of 1596, not of 1597.

(2)The words here seem to be wrong. Apparently some place is intended, but what it is is not clear.

(3)Mistake for "Bahlolkhan seized Khawaskhan" (?).

1598 Nala—

Jyeshtha Vadya 30 (1st June 1676)—Bahadurkhan and Bahlolkhan fought at Halgi; on the Moghul side Islam-Khan Rumi fell; and Bahlolkhan won.

Ashadh Vadya 4 (19th June 1676)—Netoji Palkar took Prayashchitta(1) and was purified.

Paush (25th December 1676-23rd January 1677)—Husain-khan Miana was met and defeated by Bahirrao near Yalgedla, in the province of Gadag. 2,000 horses and elephants were captured. During the battle, Nagoji, son of Sarjarao Jedhe, fought bravely. When he struck the elephant of the general (Husainkhan) himself, in the trunk, the elephant turned back. Then Husain-khan shot an arrow from the elephant. It struck the head and passed out near the chin. The wound killed Nagoji. His wife Godubai, daughter of Ghorpade, died a Sati at Kari.

Phalgun (22nd February-23rd March 1677)—Shivaji went to Bhaganagar (Hyderabad) and met the Padshah. With him were Sarjarao Jedhe, Deshmukh of Bhor, and Yesaji Kank Sarnobat. Then taking the Padshah's forces with him, he went to the Karnatak.

Sambhaji Raje had gone to Shringarpur on Kartik Shuddha 6,(2) Sunday, and stayed there.

1599 Pingala—

Chaitra (24th March-21st April 1677)—Shivaji captured Jinji and occupied the whole Karnatak. In the month of Ashadh (21st June-19th July 1677) Sherkhan Bairagi was captured near Tripati [or Trivadi?]. At that time Sarjarao Jedhe fought bravely. Ten elephants came to Shivaji by capture.

Chaitra Vadya 12 (18th April 1677)—Trimbakpant Dabir died at Shivpur.

Ashadh (21st June-19th July 1677)—Bahadurkhan captured the fort of Kulbarga belonging to Adilshah. In the month of Shravan (20th July-18th August 1677) Naldurg was captured through the help of Ranmast-khan.

Shravan—There was a meeting between Shivaji and Ekoji; an ill-feeling arose between the two, and Ekoji without taking leave fled to Tanjore. Shivaji then seized his lands, Jagdeogad and the surrounding territory, and the whole province of Chidambar and Vradhachal, and laid siege to Kolhar.

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(1)Ceremony of purification.

(2)Kartik Shuddha 6,1598 (1st November 1676) is a Wednesday. It has been suggested (Shiva-Charitra-Pradip, p. 270) that the entry ought to be in 1599. Kartik Shuddha 6, 1599 (21st October 1677), *is* a Sunday.

Bhadrapad (19th August-16th September 1677)—Bahadurkhan was transferred and Dilirkhan made Subhedar. Then in the month of Ashwin (17th September-16th October 1677) Sarjakhan and Masoodkhan and the Golconda army together fought Dilirkhan at Malekhid. The Moghul retreated to Naldurg.

Ashwin—Raghunath Narayan was appointed Mujumdar with a reward of a lakh of hons, and was given the viceroyalty of Jinji. In the month of Kartik (17th October-14th November 1677) Shivaji returned from the Karnatak to the province of Gadag, and besieged Belvadi.

Kartik—Ekoji with his forces fought Hambirrao Sarnobat near Ahiri in the Karnatak. 3,000 horses and elephants of Ekoji were captured. His Sardars were captured. He went and stayed at Tripadi. Then Ekoji ceded the fort of Kolhar and made peace.

Margashirsha (15th November-14th December 1677)—Moropant, the Peshwa, looted Nasik. Thereabout was Vikramshah, the [former] king of Jawhar. He and Siddi Fakir, the Moghul Foujdar, were captured, and victory was gained.

Paush (15th December 1677-12th January 1678)—Bahlolkhan died.

Bijapur fell into the hands of Masoodkhan who became the chief minister.

1600 Kalayukta—

Jyeshtha (11th May-9th June 1670)—Shivaji conquered the province of Gadag and returned to Raigad.

Shravan Shuddha 14 (22nd July 1678)—The fort of Vellore in the Karnatak was taken by siege by Raghunathpant and Anandrao.

Paush Shuddha 10 (13th December 1678)—Sambhaji, being disaffected, fled from Parli fort to Dilirkhan in the Moghul territory. The latter honoured him, and gave him a seven-hazari.(1)

Paush Vadya 10 (28th December 1678)—Dattajipant Waknis died.

Magh Vadya 11 (28th January 1679)—There was an earthquake. On Wednesday night(2) 20/44 a daughter, Bhawanibai, was born to Sambhaji at Shringarpur.

(1)Office of a commander of 7,000.

(2)Another Chronology gives the month and the date—Bhadrapad Vadya 14 (4th September 1678).

Phalgun Vadya 10 (25th February 1679)—Shah Alam came to Aurangabad ; and Aurangzib marched against Ajmer, making war against the Rana.

1601 Siddharthi—

Chaitra Shuddha 1 (3rd March 1679)—Moropant Peshwa sent back the [captive] son of Husain Khan Miana and took Kopal. And he released Husainkhan and took him into his service.

Vaishakh Shuddha 2,(1) Thursday (2nd April 1679)—Dilirkhan took Bhupalgad. On Ramnavami (10th March 1679) Anandrao, Senior, took Balapur.

Bhadrapad Shuddha 1 (26th August 1679)—Shamji Naik was sent to Bijapur. In the month of Ashwin (25th September-24th October 1679) Dilirkhan laid siege to Bijapur. In the month of Kartik (25th October-23rd November 1679) Adilshah and Shivaji made a treaty. In the same month Shivaji went and looted Jalnapur ; there he fought with Ranmastkhan ; Sidhoji Nimbalkar was killed by a gunshot. Shivaji returned to Raigad by way of Patta.

Ashwin Shuddha 3, Saturday (27th September 1679)—Four pots containing Rs. 26,000 were found in Fort Wasota. Next day, at Raigad, flames issued out of a sword.

In the month of Margashirsha (24th November-22nd December 1679) Sambhaji escaped from Moghul territory and returned to Panhala.

Paush Vadya 7, Tuesday (13th January 1680)—He met Shivaji. In the month of Magh (22nd January-19th February 1680) peace was made between Adilshah and the Moghuls, and the siege of Bijapur was raised.

Phalgun Vadya 10 (15th March 1680)—Rajaram was married at Raigad to Prataprao's daughter. On Phalgun Vadya 2 (7th March 1680) he was invested with the sacred thread.

1602 Raudra—

Chaitra Shuddha 15, Saturday (3rd April 1680) at noon, Shivaji Raje relinquished the mortal body at Raigad.

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(1)Shuddha 2 (2nd April) is a Wednesday. Thursday (3rd April) is Shuddha 3. Vadya 2 (17th April) is a Thursday. Another chronology does give Vadya 2.

BOOK II

I.—BIRTH, CHILDHOOD AND EARLY EXPLOITS OF SHIVAJI

A. [Controversy has gathered thick recently round the birth-date of Shivaji. The Shiva-Bharat and the Jedhe Chronology both give the date as Shake 1551, Phalgun vadya 3, which corresponds to 19th February 1630; the Jedhe Chronology adds the name of the day—Friday. On the other hand, Grant Duff gives May 1627, without citing any specific authority; the Chitnis Bakhar gives Shake 1549, Prabhava, Vaishakh Shuddha 2, Thursday (but Vaishakh Shuddha 2,—7th April 1627,—is not a Thursday, but a Saturday); the 91-Kalmi Bakhar gives 1549, Kshaya, Vaishakh Shuddha 5, Monday (but the name of the year 1549 is not Kshaya, but Prabhava, and Monday cannot without difficulty be called the 5th day of Vaishakh Shuddha. The corresponding English date would be 9th April 1627.) The Sabhasad Bakhar is silent. The question thus turns on the relative authority of the Shiva-Bharat and the Jedhe Chronology on the one hand, and the Chitnis and the 91-Kalmi Bakhars on the other. This can hardly be a matter for doubt. The earliest of the Bakhars, that of Krishnaji Anant Sabhasad, was written in A.D. 1694, but even this, written as it was from memory,—"the half-obliterated memory of an old man who had passed through many privations and hardships"—suffers from inaccuracies and confusion in the order of events. Malhar Ramrao Chitnis's "Life of Shivaji in Seven Chapters" was written as late as A.D. 1810. It claims to have been based, among other things, on 'annals, diaries and accounts of exploits handed down in the family.' Grant Duff also speaks of Chitnis's work as having been "compiled.... from original memoranda, and originals, or copies of many authentic papers, written or transcribed by his ancestors, who were all persons highly distinguished at the courts of Raigad, Jinjee and Satara." "But", he rightly goes on to add, "I do not think he has made a good use of the valuable letters and records in his possession." For the 91-Kalmi Bakhar(1) (which exists in two editions, one by Mr. Parasnis and the other by Mr. Rajwade) the claim has been made that it was written soon after Shivaji's death. This may have been so; but the existing text bears evident marks of 18th century handling. Moreover, the Bakhar suffers from the usual defects—lack of dates, confusion in the order of events, presence of supernatural episodes, etc. It seems to have been used by Chitnis.

The relevant passages in the Shiva-Bharat, the Chitnis Bakhar, and the 91-Kalmi Bakhar are given below. For Jedhe Chronology see under Shake 1551.]

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(1) So called because it contains 91 *kalams* or paragraphs.

In the Shalivahana year measured by the Earth, the Arrows, the Vital Airs, and the Moon(1) [*i.e.*, the year 1551], of the name Shukla, when the Sun's progress to the north of the equator had begun, in the Shishira(2) season, in the excellent month of Phalgun, in the dark half, on the third day, at night, at an auspicious moment, when five very favourable and ascendant planets prophesied the firm and glorious empire of the whole world, she [Jijabai] gave birth to a son.

[Shiva-Bharat VI 26-31]

Then, having passed the full period of pregnancy she gave birth to a son at an auspicious time on Thursday, Vaishakh Shuddha 2, in Shaka year 1549, of the name Prabhava.

[Chitnis, p. 27]

Then Shivaji Raje was born on Monday, Vaishakh Shuddha 5, in Shaka year 1549, of the name Kshaya.

[91-Kalmi Bakhar, para. 14]

B. [The story that when Shahaji entered the Bijapur service and was sent to the Karnatak in 1636 he left Jijabai and Shivaji behind at Poona, occurs in the 91-Kalmi and the Chitnis Bakhars. The Shiva-Bharat, however, tells us that Jijabai accompanied her husband to the Karnatak and that Shivaji was sent by Shahaji to Poona at the age of 12, in consequence of a dream, in which the God Shiva appeared to him and charged him to send Shivaji to Poona. Sabhasad gives much the same account.]

Then Shahaji showed how the elephant could be weighed.(3) Murarpant was pleased, and gave the district of Junnar, the fort of Chakan, and the territory from Poona to Wai, Shirwal, Supa, and Indapur to Shahaji as a jagir. Then Shahaji, who knew Dadaji Konddev, Kulkarni of Maltan in the Patas sub-division of the district of Poona, as a good clerk and an honest man, made the whole territory over to him with full authority.... Thereupon Murar Jagdev went to Bijapur. When the territory was placed in the hands of Dadaji Konddev, Shahaji told him to bring his wife and son, who were at Junnar, to Poona, to build a house for them, to maintain both, and to give a good education to his son. Then Shahaji went to Bijapur. Dadajipant brought Jijau and Shivba from Shivneri, filled Poona with inhabitants, built the Red House, and maintained both in great honour.

[91-Kalmi Bakhar, para. 19]

(1) Conventional way of expressing figures. The Earth and the Moon stand for 1; the arrows and the 'vital airs' for 5 each.

(2) Literally, cold. The Shishira season comprises the two months Magha and Phalgun.

(3) This was on 23rd September 1633 (Bhadrapad 30, Shake 1555), when there was an eclipse of the Sun. Shahaji and Murar Jagdev, the famous minister of Bijapur, were returning after the fall of Daulatabad, and an eclipse of the Sun occurring, Murarrao gave enormous gifts to Brahmins. He made twenty-four *Tuladanas* (gifts of gold and silver weighed against something else). When an elephant had to be weighed for this purpose, nobody could see how it was to be done. Shahaji pointed out a method of doing it.

When Shahaji Maharaj and Murar Jagdevrao had determined to return to Bijapur, Jijabai, who, because of her pregnancy, had been left behind at Shivneri when formerly he went from Mahuli and bade good-bye to the Daulatabad court, bore a son—Shivaji Raja, there[1]. The Maharaj, who had repaired to his jagir in the district of Chanjaur [Tanjore], still remained there. A long time had elapsed since he had last seen Jijabai and his son. The latter was now seven years old. The Maharaj wished to see him. Even at seven he had gone through all studies. Very handsome in appearance, and possessing varied talents, he had made a beginning in writing, riding horses as well as elephants, gymnastics, archery, shooting, and even in the study of Shastras. He talked well and was full of invention. Hearing these good tidings of his son, the Maharaj was anxious to meet him.

[Chitnis, p. 54]

Though Shahaji had many wives, the mother of Sambhaji and Shivaji, the daughter of Jadhavrao, possessed the heart of her husband there [at Bangalore].

As Vasudeva looked to advantage with Balarama and Krishna, so did Shahaji with Shambhu and Shiva.

Shahaji loved his son Shivaji, younger than Sambhaji in age, but superior to the latter in the possession of excellent qualities.

[Shiva-Bharat IX 60-62]

Immediately Shivaji was born to Mother Jijai, the God Shambhu appeared in a dream [to Shahaji] and said "I myself have descended to Earth. Many deeds of fame have to be performed in future. You should keep him near yourself for twelve years, but no longer. After that, let him go where he will. Do not restrain him." Such was the vision. Shahaji was at Bangalore in the Karnatak. His Karbhari[2] was Naropant Dikshit. He had two very able sons, Raghunathpant and Janardanpant. Included in Shahaji's jagir was the district of Poona. Dadaji Konddev, an able, shrewd man, was in charge of it. He went to Bangalore to see the Maharaj. With him Shivaji and Jijabai Au went [to Poona].[3] Shivaji was twelve years old at the time. With him were sent Shamrao Nilkanth as Peshwa,[4] and Balkrishnapant, cousin to Naropant Dikshit, as Mujumdar[5]; and with Sonopant as Dabir,[6] and Raghunath Ballal as Sabnis,[7] Dadajipant and Shivaji were sent to Poona. They came to Poona.

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(1) This sentence is full of chronological mistakes.

(2) Manager, minister.

(3) The sentence is usually interpreted to mean that Shivaji and Jijabai went with Dadaji to Bangalore. But the interpretation in the text that Dadaji went to Bangalore, and with him (*i.e.*, when he returned to Poona), went Shivaji and Jijabai (*from* Bangalore *to* Poona) is also possible, and seems to me to be better.

(4) Chief minister.

(5) Auditor.

(6) Counseller.

(7) Head clerk.

C. [A few years before Shivaji came to Poona, Poona and the surrounding district had been a scene of tumult and destruction (No. 1) Dadaji Konddev had restored order and cultivation (No. 2), but the Mavals, the hilly western fringe of the Poona District, could only be subdued with difficulty (No. 3). When Shivaji was sent to Poona, about 1642, he was given the *mokassa* (revenue collection) of 36 villages of Maval (No. 4), probably as a training in administration. Chitnis tells us that even so early Shivaji's thoughts turned to the establishment of an independent Hindu kingdom, but the idea was discouraged by Dadaji Konddev (No. 5). However that may be, when Dadaji Konddev died in 1647, Shivaji began to manage his father's jagir himself. Chitnis and Grant Duff (the latter probably on the sole authority of the former) say that soon after Dadaji's death Shivaji began his encroachments on Bijapur. There are reasons, however, to think that while strengthening his position in his father's jagir, Shivaji for many years took no aggressive step against Bijapur, until in about 1655 the impending death of the Sultan gave him an opportunity.]

(1) At that time Moro Tandev Honap, Deshpande of Poona, raised a tumult. Then Rayarao, Diwan of Murar Jagdev, led an expedition against him; he kept watch, captured and brought him away from the jungle. Moro Tandev was tortured by piercing his nails with needles, was beaten, and kept in confinement. Murar Jagdev razed the walls of Poona, destroyed the city,......and built a fort at Bhuleshwar, which he named Daulatmangal. The country became a desert.

[91-Kalmi Bakhar, para. 19]

(2) The Mavals had been infested with wolves, parts of the country had been laid waste by the incursions of the Abyssinians, and parts had gone out of cultivation owing to the heavy Moghul assessment. Dadaji Konddev fixed the assessment, restored cultivation, brought back the old Zamindars to the Mavals, and employed Mavli barquandazes,[1] giving a reward to every one who killed and brought a wolf. In this way the land was repeopled and restored to cultivation. The assessments were fixed permanently and bonds given. Measures were taken against the Abyssinian trouble by stationing parties of men at different places, and prosperity was produced everywhere.

[Chitnis, p. 55]

(3) My grand-father, Kanhoji Jedhe, was serving Shahaji Maharaj with some horse. Then the Maharaj kept the late Chhatrapati, our master [*i.e.*, Shivaji], at Poona. My grand-father Kanhoji then remained with the latter with his horse. Then Dadaji Konddev came to Shivapur. At that time Krishnaji Naik Bandal, Deshmukh of Hirdas Maval, was levying tribute throughout the twelve Mavals. My father had given him tribute before this, but refused to do so now. Dadaji Konddev marched against Krishnaji Bandal, who met the opposing horse, drove them away, and cut the tails of the horses. After Dadaji Konddev had returned discomfited to Shivapur he said to Kanhoji Jedhe "Pray get

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(1) Matchlock-men

Krishnaji Naik here for an interview. If you take this up seriously you will certainly succeed in getting him here; and then, since of the Maval Deshmukhs some have come and seen me, and some have not, those who have not will also come." He spoke a good deal to this effect. Thereupon Kanhoji Naik came to Kari. From there he sent a few words of advice to Krishnaji Bandal. They succeeded; Krishnaji Naik came to Shivapur for an interview; and then all other Deshmukhs came as well.

[Rajwade, Vol. XVI, pp. 316-7]

(4) When Shahaji Maharaj got the *mokassa* of Poona in the Adilshahi state, the Maharaj in turn gave the *mokassa* of Maval District to the Sahib [Shivaji], and that of Sandas Khurd to Mambaji Raje Bhonsle. Constables and clerks were sent independently on the Sahib's behalf to the district of Maval.

[*Ib.*, Vol. XVIII, p. 44]

(5) Then the Maharaj [Shivaji] thought to himself "It is not proper that I should simply live on what my forefathers have acquired. I am a Hindu. The whole of the Southern Country has been overrun by the Muhammadans. Gods, Brahmins, holy places, cows, have suffered heavily. Religion has disappeared altogether. It is proper, therefore, that I should protect Religion even at the sacrifice of my life in its cause, and that I should acquire new fortune by my own exertions. Self-supporting, I shall then collect men and make up an army, and, while preserving the acquistions of my forebears, make new ones. That will be glorious, and will have justified my birth in this family. One should exert one's self, putting one's trust in God and good luck. And the better the luck, the greater should one's exertions be; God will then look to the successful conclusion." Such thoughts began to occur to him—a result of the happenings of some former existence. And he made up his mind accordingly. Thinking it useless to waste time without doing anything, he consulted Dadaji Konddev. The latter said, "What you think is all right; but it is extremely difficult of accomplishment. The whole Earth has long been under the heel of the Muhammadans. Forts and strategic places are all occupied by their armies. To accomplish this, one ought to have strong positions; Hindu princes and Hindu troops ought to be assisting one from different places; one ought one's self to be working hard, taking up difficult enterprises, and risking one's life in deeds of daring; in addition one ought to have Divine favour and the blessing of some Saint;—then only should one attempt such things. That being so, what you have in mind is a difficult thing. True, this also is a doubtful proceeding—that your father should be serving Muhammadans, and, rising to a high position, and receiving wealth from them, should be supporting himself with their food;—but then the very age is topsy-turvy. So day by day, Religion is sure to decline. Your idea, therefore, is difficult of realisation. The time, the place, the circumstances, are all unfavourable. Let it not be said of you that

you did not acquire anything new, but lost what fortune, jagir, and name had been acquired by your forefathers."

[Chitnis, pp. 60-61]

(6) Then there was the fort of Torna, belonging to the Bijapur government. There Sivaji entered into an intrigue ; won over the officers of the fort through the Mavlas, Pasalkar, Kank, Malusre and other leaders whom he had previously attached to himself ; and representing to the officers that the fort should be made over to him, since he could have it assigned to himself by the Padshah also, got it into his hand by treachery. Then he visited the fort, and named it Prachandgad. Noticing a good hill near it—that of Durga Devi,(1)—he thought of settling some people and building a fort there. He made appointments of the usual havaldars and clerks, and built a fort. The hillside had three good terraces ; work was begun on these too ; they were fortified and built like forts. And the fort was named Rajgad and the redoubts on the side were named Suvela, Sanjivani, and Padmavati respectively. So it was as good as four forts. It was built with this idea in view, that it was a proper place for being made the capital. The Padshah, learning this, made inquiries of Shahaji Maharaj. He replied, " Shivaji found some outside trouble brewing on Torna ; so he made *bandobast* there. He found a good place close by ; he built watch-posts there also, and made it a suitable place. It is a good place, and adjacent to our jagir ; it would be as well if it is left to us." Thus he kept up appearances. At the same time he wrote expostulatory letters to Shivaji Raje and Dadaji Konddev : " It is not proper to behave like this." To Dadajipant he wrote," How is it that you, being near, allow him to behave like this ?" The latter wrote back, informing Shahaji of the real state of things : " I gave my humble advice to Shivaji Raje, but to nothing that I said would he consent."

[Chitnis, pp. 62-63]

(7) About this time Shahaji wrote to Dadaji to send him the money that might have been collected. Just then the latter passed away. Then Shivaji sent reply : " Expenses here have increased ; the money which you require for your expenses should be brought from the Karnatak jagir ; I may be excused from remittances from here "......

Then Phirangoji Narsala, who was the *havaldar* of the *Thana*(2) of Chakan, came and saw the Maharaj. The latter was pleased with him, and made over the Thana to him. Other officers in the district, too, who remained where they were and paid due obedience, were continued in their respective offices. It was settled that the adminstration should proceed according to the old assessments, for which bonds had been given by Dadajipant. Siddi Bilol,(3) the old commander of the horse, behaved in a way which the Maharaj did not like. So he relinquished his command and went to Shahaji Maharaj. The Thana and district of Supa was in the charge of Baji Mohite, brother of Tukabai Saheb.(4)

(1) Called Murbad in Sabhasad.
(2) Military post.
(3) Called Siddi Hilal in the 91-Kalmi Bakhar. That seems to be the correct name.
(4) Step-mother of Shivaji.

Because he did not come for interview when asked to do so, Shivaji marched against him. He was seized, his body of horse was taken from him, and he was dispatched to Shahaji at Tanjore.

[Chitnis, pp. 64-65]

(8) (*i*) At the fort of Purandhar, belonging to the Adilshah, there was a Brahmin commandant, by name Nilkanthrao. He died. He had two sons, who began to quarrel with each other. Shivaji went to Purandhar, ostensibly to bring about a reconciliation between the two. He arrested both the brothers, and took that fort also for himself.

[Sabhasad, p. 5]

(*ii*) Niloji Nilkanthrao, an officer of the Nizamshah, and holding a Naikwadi watan, was at the fort of Purandhar. Holding the fort, he used to collect revenue from the surrounding tract. He had villages in Inam, and collected dues from every adjoining village. A close intimacy existed between him and Shahaji Raje. So Shivaji Raje wrote to him that now Dadajipant, who had been to him like a father, was dead, he was without shelter; he intended, therefore, to come and stay for a while at the fort of Purandhar. Niloji replied, "Do not hesitate; do come by all means." As soon as he received the reply, Shivaji went to the fort of the hill and camped there with his horse and 25,000 Mavlas. He spent the whole rainy season there.

Then came the feast of Divali. Niloji Nilkanthrao had two younger brothers, Pilaji Nilkanthrao and Shankraji Nilkanthrao: they were three brothers altogether. The eldest, Niloji, looked to the administration of the fort and all the villages, and did not give the younger brothers their due share. They received only food and clothing and lived with their brother. The younger brothers were secretly discontented, and had begun negotiations with Shivaji. Wishing to invite Jijau and Shivba for the Divali feast, the eldest brother sent a younger one to give them the invitation to come into the fort for the feast. Accordingly the younger brother came down and gave the invitation. Shivaji declined it; he said, "We two alone cannot come, and leave all our men here. Even here we are your guests." So he sent the brother back, without accepting the invitation. The three brothers consulted together: "Our relations with Shahaji Raje are of long standing; he will hold us to blame, that though his wife and son were here, we did not invite them for the Divali. So we must go once more and get Mother Jijau and Shivba into the fort and with them we must allow all other people—Bargirs,[1] and Mavlas, and Khasdars,[2] and all—to come into the fort as well." The brother came and took all to the fort. For three days there were baths and dinners. It was intended to give dresses to Jijabai and Shivaji and all their men on the Pratipada[3] day, and after the Bhaubeej,[4] to give

(1) Men provided with a horse by their employer.

(2) Personal attendants.

(3) The first day of the month of Kartik, and the third day of the Divali.

(4) The second day of the month of Kartik, and the last day of the Divali. On this day brothers make presents to their sisters.

them leave. On the Pratipada day, dinner was over; they kept up till late at night; then Nilkanthrao and his wife retired. At early dawn, when four *ghatikas*[1] of the night still remained, Pilaji Nilkanthrao and Shankraji Nilkanthrao awakened Shivaji. The latter was half awake already. Niloji Nilkanthrao was taken from the bed-stead and bound with silken cords. His wife Kaki was removed to another side and fastened to her cot. Chains were put on his feet. At the same time the brothers also were similarly enchained and locked up in a room. The two other gates of the fort were guarded by Mavlas; posts were stationed at small distances on the fort. All their men (including females) were sent down the fort, and they were allowed to go, after being relieved of their valuables. Thus the fort was taken. A large treasure was found. The Nilkanthrao brothers were kept in confinement for three days; on the third day they were released and taken down the fort. Some Inam was given to them, and their services were retained. Even now that Inam and the Naikwadi watan continue in their family.

[91-Kalmi Bakhar, paras. 26-27]

(*iii*) Nilkanth Haibatrao Sarnaik was a brave, able, exceedingly stern man. He had the command of the fort of Purandhar or Daulatmangal, built by Murarpant, and belonging to the Padshah........He died. His sons, the three brothers, Nilo Nilkanth, Pilaji Nilkanth, and Shankraji Nilkanth, Brahmin Sarnaiks of Chambli, began to quarrel. Nilopant and Dadaji Konddev had been for a long time on familiar terms, so he was friendly with the Maharaj [Shivaji] also. The Maharaj passed through Purandhar on his way from Rajgad to Supa. He made a halt at the Narayana temple. At that time the people in the fort thought, "The Sarnaiks quarrel among themselves; any one will take the fort, and they will lose it. Better to be under Shivaji Maharaj: he is a great man and all the surrounding territory and forts have become his." With this idea they said to the three brothers, "The Raje Saheb and your late father were great friends; by a lucky chance he has come this side; you should go and see him, receive him with honour, tell him that there are differences among yourselves, and behave according to his advice." The idea appealed to them too; they saw the Maharaj, and made him stay. Then came the feast of Divali. They invited him into the fort for the Divali bath. He replied, "There are a few of my prominent Sardars with me; it does not look proper that I should leave them and come alone." He was asked to come along with all his Sardars. Accordingly he went up into the fort. For three days he remained there only. During those Feast days he began to interest himself in the affair of the three brothers. The eldest brother would not give their share to the other two. The latter thought, "The Maharaj is great, it were well for us to become his men." So they began negotiations with him. The people had been already negotiating. The Maharaj decided to do it, and took them in hand. The three Farjands and all the people joined in the plot. While on the third day Shivaji was ostensibly about to take leave, news was brought to him by the two brothers that Nilopant

(1) A ghatika = 24 minutes.

had retired for the night. The people in the fort were already on the look-out: Shivaji sent them and some of his own men, and placed Nilopant under arrest. All three were brought down from the fort with himself. The fort was taken, and arrangements for it made. All three were asked to take each his due share of the Inam village of Chambli and of their other rights, and to live happily. Shivaji then took them up into his service, and asked them to accompany him. Hiroji Farjand, and Harbaji and Tuloji, being peons, were promoted.

[Chitnis, pp. 78-80]

II.—CONQUEST OF JAVLI, 1656

[The conquest of Javli marks the first important stage in the growth of Shivaji's power. Javli was a considerable principality, comprising the greater part of the modern Satara district, with some part of the Konkan. The way to the South and the South-West was now opened to Shivaji by its annexation in 1656.

"A Maratha family named More had received a grant of the State of Javli from the first Sultan of Bijapur early in the 16th century, and made the claim good by their sword. For eight generations they conquered the petty chieftains around and amassed a vast treasure by plunder. They. . . . succeeded in getting possession of the entire district of Satara and parts of Konkan. The head of the family bore the hereditary title of Chandrarao, conferred by a Bijapur king in recognition of the founder's personal strength and courage,. . . . Eighth in descent from the founder was Krishnaji Baji, who succeeded to the lordship of Javli about 1652."

[Sarkar—Shivaji, pp. 43-44]

The documents in this volume raise the question "Did Shivaji win Javli by murder ?" It seems certain, at first sight, that he did. Sabhasad, Chitnis, the 91-Kalmi Bakhar, all speak of a murder. Is it conceivable that Sabhasad invented a false charge of murder against Shivaji ? What motive could Chitnis have had for caluminating the great founder of his master's family as a murderer ? Yet there *are* some grounds for hesitation. (1) We cannot be sure that Sabhasad and Chitnis looked at the matter in the same way as we do ; that they thought of it as a crime, so that, had it not been a notorious fact, they would never have thought of inventing it. There is no hint in Sabhasad or Chitnis that either of them thought of the act as of doubtful moral character in the least; rather do they appear to glory in it, as in the rest of their hero's exploits. (2) A very similar story is told of Shahaji and Shrinivasrao of Junnar. Shahaji, we are told, entered into a negotiation with the latter for a marriage alliance, and made him prisoner. (Sarkar's article in Modern Review, September 1917, p. 252.) The stratagem would appear to have been looked upon as a clever, and entirely admirable, stroke of policy. (3) The accounts in the three Bakhars mentioned above do not agree with one another, nor is the account of either Sabhasad or the 91-Kalmi Bakhar wholly intelligible in itself. In Sabhasad Chandrarao and his brother Suryajirao are first treacherously murdered, and then the murderer sends an agent to negotiate a marriage alliance with the third brother, Hanmantrao, who is also treacherously murdered in the same way. In Chitnis the marriage negotiations are entered into in the first instance, (Is this because Chitnis feels that Sabhasad's account is unconvincing ?) and Chandrarao and Suryajirao having been despatched by this means, Hanmantrao (who is at Javli, not at a neighbouring place, as in Sabhasad) is just killed

by Sambhaji Kavji when the latter is leaving Javli. In the 91-Kalmi Bakhar we are told of the murder of Hanmantrao, Chandrarao's Diwan, and nothing at all about Chandrarao himself!. On the other hand, of course, the fact that two such independent sources as Sabhasad and the 91-Kalmi Bakhar both speak of *a* murder shows the existence of a general belief, towards the end of the 17th century, in the occurrence of *some* murder in connection with Shivaji's conquest of Javli; and their disagreement in details strengthens, rather than weakens, such a conclusion. (4) But then, neither the Jedhe Chronology, nor, we may perhaps add, the More Bakhar (the last except under the present heading) speaks of a murder. Both say that Javli was taken after an open fight with Chandrarao, that the latter then took refuge in Raigad and that at last peace was made between Shivaji and Chandrarao. In face of all this, we can only reserve our judgment until there is more conclusive evidence either way.]

A chief of the name of Chandrarao More ruled in the Konkan....... A powerful man was he, and ruled with strongholds, and hill-forts, ten or twelve thousands horse, and foot-soldiers in addition. Raghunath Ballal Sabnis was summoned and sent to him. Shivaji thought to himself, and said, "Unless Chandrarao More is killed, his principality cannot be secured[1]. And none but you can execute this work. You are to go to him on an embassy." With him were sent a hundred or a hundred and twenty-five picked swordsmen. Riding and arriving in the neighbourhood of Javli, he sent a message in advance to Chandrarao: "We have come from Shivaji; we have some negotiations, some alliance to make." Thus he informed him. Thereupon Chandrarao invited him to see him and granted an audience. There was some formal talk. He then retired to the quarters appointed for him and remained there. Next day he went again, and had a private audience. Some negotiations took place. At a suitable opportunity he stabbed the two brothers—Chandrarao and Suryajirao—several times with a dagger. He then made off to his men. A pursuit was made, but he killed the pursuers and made off. When the chief himself had fallen, how should the men advance? Having done the deed, he returned and met Shivaji. Immediately Shivaji advanced in person and captured Javli. The Mavlas were given assurances and enlisted. An entirely new fort, called Pratapgad, was erected. There was a place called Chaturbet, belonging to Javli, where a brother of Chandrarao, by name Hanmantrao, remained in strength. Thinking that the thorn of Javli could not be removed unless he was killed, Shivaji sent Sambhaji Kavji, a Mahaldar of his, to Hanmantrao on a diplomatic project. Sambhaji Kavji pretended to negotiate a marriage alliance, got a private audience with Hanmantrao, and stabbed him to death with a dagger. Javli was subjugated. There was a rebel named Babaji Rav in the valley of Shivtar. He was taken, and his eyes were put out.

[Sabhasad, pp. 6-7]

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(1) or, I cannot establish my kingdom.

Chandarao More, Raja of Javli, of the twelve Mavals, paid horse-shoe-money annually to the Padshah of Bijapur.(1) His Diwan, Hanmant More, who conducted the whole administration, and had 40,000 Mavlas in his pay, stayed at Jor, near Shri Mahabaleshwar. Chandrarao More's daughters were handsome, and of marriageable age. Shivaji sent Raghunath Ballal Sabnis on an embassy to Hanmantrao More to negotiate a marriage connection. It was a deep forest; Raghunath Ballal went to it with twenty-five horse and a hundred Mavlas. Hanmantrao More came across the threshold into the courtyard to meet him. Immediately he was treacherously killed with a dagger. There were some ten men at the gate; Raghunath Ballal killed them also, and the same night came to Purandhar, *via* Wai, to see Shivaji. The latter was much pleased. The next day Shivaji started in person with 40,000 Mavlas, travelled through the night, and on the third day reached Javli by way of Mahabaleshwar and the pass of Nisni. Raghunath Ballal Sabnis and Mankoji Dahatonde, Sarnobut, were given some troops, and they came by the pass of Radtondi. Siege was then laid to Javli. For six hours the struggle continued; the place was taken at last. Bajirao and Krishnarao Raje More, about fifteen or sixteen years of age, were taken with their wives. Much treasure and booty of old times was found. The principality was broken. With the spoils the fort Pratapgad was erected on the crest of the hill; Mavlas were stationed there, and then Shivaji returned to Poona with Chandrarao More.

Thereupon Bajirao and Krishnarao More were given a luxurious bath and a sumptuous meal and then beheaded at Nimjaga (2) to the south of Poona. There were their wives, and the girls of marriageable age; they were set free; no marriage connection was made. Thus was the principality of Chandrarao More of Javli taken. Sixty thousands Mavlas were praised and taken into service.

[91-Kalmi Bakhar, paras. 28-29]

Chandrarao More was in Javli; he had 10,000 men in his pay, and had forcibly seized forts and valleys. The Maharaj opened friendly negotiations with him to the effect that Chandrarao should be *his* man and should conduct himself according to *his* wishes. He, in his haughtiness, paid no heed to the Maharaj and went on as before. Then the Maharaj thought: "He is a powerful man and has many captains of Mavlas with him: he cannot be got hold of by means of diplomacy; I must get hold of him by a stratagem." So thinking, he sent Ragho Ballal Sabnis to parley with him. With Ragho Ballal he sent a hundred or two hundred select men. He went to Javli and began negotiations for a matrimonial alliance. And he stayed on there. Taking stock of the situation, he found Chandrarao given to intoxicating drugs, and his people divided. Forming a project, he sent a message to the Maharaj: "By virtue of the power of the Saheb's meritorious deeds, I am about to finish the business of Chandrarao. The Saheb should march in this direction for some ostensible reason or other. You should be prepared to start.

(1) *i.e.* he was practically independent and made a nominal payment to Bijapur in recognition of its suzerainty.

(2) The meaning of this word is obscure.

I shall finish the business here in accordance with the plan I have formed and give you a hint. You should then descend the ghat and come here." So, in accordance with what the Sabnis had written, the Maharaj came from Rajgad to Purandhar. While he from there went to pay his respects to Shri Mahabaleshwar, Raghunathpant invited Chandrarao and his brother Suryajirao as if for a secret consultation, and killed them then and there. Raghunathpant came to the gate. By this time the men at the gate got some scent; they were, however, only a few; he fought with them, and came safely among his own men. While starting from there, Sambhaji Kavji killed More's Karbhari, a fine soldier by name Hanmantrao. The Mabararj was at Mahabaleshwar. He paid his respects to the god, and immediately on receiving the intimation, went by the Nisni pass to Javli; Javli fought for six hours. Then the stronghold was taken. Chandrarao's sons, Bajirao and Krishnarao, were taken. The ladies also were taken; they were taken to Purandhar and kept in confinement. The two sons were taken to Poona, and put to death at Nimjaga(1), towards the south of the city. The ladies, who had been kept in confinement, were set free after a few days.

[Chitnis, pp. 81-82]

[The following passage is from a Bakhar, called 'A short Bakhar of the Mores of Javli' printed by Mr. Parasnis in the Itihas-Sangraha, May and June 1909. Mr. Parasnis's note to the Bakhar is as follows:—"This short Bakhar of Chandrarao More has been sent to us by our friend Mr. Yashwant Rajaram Gupte, B.A., who procured it through Mr. Narhar Malhar Chitnavis. As the MS. is a second-hand copy of the original, it shows many orthographical and other errors. Still, as it contains some new information about Chandrarao More, we publish it here. If any one comes across a correct copy of this Bakhar, we should be obliged by his sending it to us."

As the original of the Bakhar is not available, it is impossible to fix its date with any certainty. From the language, however, it certainly does not appear to be a modern fabrication, and one would not be surprised if the original, being discovered, turned out to belong, say, to the end of the 18th century. Another point of interest with regard to the Bakhar is that its account of the capture of Javli and Raigad corresponds remarkably with that of the Jedhe Chronology.]

......Chandrarao marched from Bijapur, and with 12,000 foot soldiers advanced on Javli. Conquering Javli, he established his rule and founded a kingdom. Before this the Gujars, the Mahamulkars, the Shirkes, and the Mohites also flourished in Javli for some time. But there was no firm kingship before this. That Javli became known among men as the seat of a king, was on account of Chandrarao. Young and old speak of "Chandrarao More, king of Javli." Even now the name of Chandrarao is current. Nobody speaks of those others. Only some rare person knows about them; not people in general. The first Chandrarao Raje More,

(1) The meaning of this word is obscure.

his son Chayaji Raje, then Bhikaji Raje, then Shodaji Raje, then Yesaji Raje, then Gondaji Raje, then Balaji Chandrarao Raje, then Daulatrao Raje;—thus there were eight men in all. The heirs of Chayaji Raje ruled over Javli for seven generations up to Daulatrai. With Daulatrai, the family of Chayaji Raje became extinct. Thereupon Mānkāi Āi, the mother of Daulatrai, adopted Krishnaji Baji Raje, a descendant of Yashwantrai of the Shivthar line, and, installing him at Javli as the king, carried on the government. Krishnaji Baji ruled at Javli for three years. After that Shivaji Raje Bhonsle won the favour of God Shambhu. Great was his might. He collected ever so many Mavla foot soldiers, and took numerous strongholds and hill-forts. And he built new ones, (1) and subjugated a large territory. He conquered Talkonkan, the twelve Mavals, and the Muras.(2) Shivaji Maharaj sent a message to Chandrarao Krishnaji More: "You call yourself 'Raje' without propriety. We are the true king. God Shambhu has made us king. You must not, therefore, call yourself by the title 'Raje'. You must serve us and, maintaining yourself by your own territory, render due service. Otherwise, if you are disloyal and plot against us, we shall conquer Javli and keep you in confinement." A stringent warning like this was given. Thereupon Rao Raje Krishnaji Baji More wrote in reply: "It was yesterday that you became king. Who made you king? If one vainly calls one's self king in one's own house, who is going to recognise that? One can easily enough come to Javli (3) but one cannot get away from it so easily. Not a single man will return alive. If you have the power, come even today instead of tomorrow. We are kings of the Konkan; our king is Shri Mahabaleshwar. By His grace, we rule. By His grace the Padshah was pleased to give us the title 'Raje', and the morchel,(4) and the throne. Ours is the perpetual and hereditary kingdom of Javli. If you enter on a quarrel with us, do it with open eyes. There is other territory for you. If you try to gain some advantage here, in the end you will be worse off than before. Instead of success, failure will be your lot." To this effect Krishnaji Raje More wrote to Shivaji Maharaj. When the letters were read to Shivaji Maharaj, he was filled with wrath and sent a counter reply thus:—"You surrender Javli, cease to call yourself 'Raje', give up the morchel, and, having your hands tied up with a handkerchief, come to us and render some service. If even after this you behave improperly, you will lose your life." When Chandrarao More heard the contents of the letter, he waxed wroth. And a straight reply he made to Shivaji Raje: "My ammunition is still there. You wrote some........ (4); what need was there of writing thus? I am well able to defend myself." Then there

(1) The words in the text mean 'He built forts in the river' which makes no meaning. I have made the emendation 'Navin' (new) for 'Nadit' (in the river).

(2) "The Concan-Ghaut-Matha, from Jooncre to Kolapore, is divided into the Mawals, the Khoras, and the Mooras: these are names used by natives, both for parts of the tableland and the valleys." (Grant Duff Vol. I, p. 7.)

(3) A pun on the word 'Javli'.

(4) A brush of pea-cock feathers. It is waved over idols, Rajas, etc. (Molesworth).

(5) Obscure.

came to be great enmity between Chandrarao and Shivaji Maharaj. Then Shivaji Maharaj sent Suryarao Kakde and two thousand foot against Javli. Descending by the Nisni ghat of Mahabaleshwar,. . . .[1] they laid siege to Javli. The approaches of Javli are difficult; there are dense clusters of bamboos. There the fighting went on for a month. At the end of the month, Krishnaji Baji More Raje left Javli and went, with his men, to Raigad. He seized Raigad and remained there. Shivaji Maharaj advanced against it. Chandrarao held out at Raigad for three months. Then peace was made. Krishnaji Raje More and Shivaji Maharaj met each other. Javli was occupied by Shivaji Maharaj. Raigad also fell to him. Shivaji Raje received Krishnaji Raje More with great honour, and presented a horse, a Sirpav,[2] and a rumal[3] to him. Krishnaji Chandrarao did not accept the rumal. "What is a rumal to us? We once had a morchel:—that was high dignity. Should we leave that and accept a lower one? Even if we do not wear a rumal on our head, the world will still know us as Raje More of Javli." Chandrarao took only the horse and the Sirpav presented to him by Shivaji Raje, and returned the rumal. Shivaji Raje had his morchel taken away. His arms, too, were taken away. Krishnaji Chandrarao thought to himself, "Where will our kingdom go? For the present at least I am his prisoner. As God Shambhu will prompt in future, so shall I act." While he was with Shivaji Raje, it was the latter's intention that Chandrarao should be allowed to have a few men and his Javli should be restored to him; that he should be established in his former country as a servant, but should not be allowed to keep a large army; that it should be seen that he remained within his [Shivaji's] circle when summoned, and then his Javli should be restored to him. Thus did Shivaji Maharaj decide. Taking Krishnaji Raje More with him, he came to Chakan. Krishnaji Raje wrote secretly to Venkaji Raje Ghorpade of Mudhol, a Mansabdar of the Bijapur government. "You are a Mansabdar of the Padshah. We, too, are esteemed Rajas under the Padshahi. We have been excused from direct service to the Padshah. Nevertheless we must and do abide by his commands. You and we are relatives. Shivaji Raje Bhonsle is self-styled king. He has made such a trouble for the Padshah. So, by hook or crook, in any way that you think suitable, procure our release from here and take us to Mudhol. After we have joined you, we shall exert ourselves to the utmost. First one, then two[4]." These letters were discovered by the messengers of Shivaji Maharaj. They handed them over to him. He read them, and saw there was treachery. Then he said to Krishnaji Raje More: "You and I met on Rajgad. You then gave me your word of honour that thenceforward you would not be unfriendly towards me. Still you sent treasonable letters to Venkaji Ghorpade. It is clear from this that you Mores are faithless!" Thus accusing him, Shivaji Maharaj had him beheaded at Chakan. From that time the Mores' rule disappeared from Javli. There are relatives and descendants of Chandrarao, but they do not rule over Javli. When Chandrarao the

(1) Obscure.
(2) (Liberally, head and foot.) A complete dress of honour (Wilson).
(3) A kind of headdress.
(4) I cannot understand the meaning of this.

pious was ruling over Javli, the revenues of the kingdom were divided into four parts; one was devoted to the army and foot-soldiers; one to charity and free distribution of food; one to private expenses, *tosikhana* (1), horses, *suratkhana*(2), *adilkhana*, etc.; and one to the building of temples......Such was More the Pious. Shivaji Maharaj built Pratapgad on the Dhorpa hill above Javli; and established Amba of Shri Tuljapur there. But the world still cherishes the name of Chandrarao.—Hakikatnama(3) of Chandrarao Raje More.

(1) Stores.

(2) Shutarkhana = Artillery mounted on camels.

(3) Account

III.—FIRST BRUSH WITH THE EMPIRE

[After the conquest of Javli in 1655, Shivaji must have been occupied for some time in the reorganisation of his territories. His next opportunity came with Aurangzib's invasion of Bijapur early in 1657. Shivaji had entered into correspondence with Aurangzib, who had assented to his keeping what he had wrested from Bijapur, and also to his proposal of taking possession of Dabhol and the surrounding country (No. 1). But Bijapur bade higher, and when the war broke out, Shivaji, perhaps hoping that it would be a long struggle, accepted the Bijapur bid, and raided Moghul territory (No. 2). The rapid success of Aurangzib, however, alarmed him, and he had good reason to fear the consequences of Aurangzib's wrath ; but he was saved by the news of the Emperor's illness, which distracted Aurangzib's attention, and made him willing to give a favourable reply to Shivaji's overtures (No. 3).

Two or three recently published letters show that towards the end of the year 1658, when the danger from Aurangzib had passed away, Shivaji looted some territory in the Karnatak (Nos. 4 and 5).

The two letters of Aurangzib to Shivaji translated below (Nos. 1 and 3) are from Rajwade, Volume VIII. These, again, are 19th century translations from the original Persian.]

(1) Let Shivaji Bhonsle, chief of all Umraos, eminent among his equals, object of Imperial favour, be satisfied and know :—

Your application, made after receiving the *firman* with the print of the palm from here, has been received. Whatever had to be said on the different matters has been said to your envoy Sonaji. He must have spoken to you and convinced you. The forts and territory belonging to Bijapur which you hold in your hands should remain in your hands as heretofore ; besides we now give you, as you desire, Dabhol and the territory depending on it. So, you should realise that whatever assistance is to be given to us, this is the time to give it ; and you should come here for an interview. Whatever other plans you may have in mind besides this will all be fulfilled. Just now leave has been given to your envoy, because he was anxious to return as soon as possible. From what he tells you, you will see our interest in you, and our desire to promote your advancement in course of time. . . . . . . At present, by the grace of God, and our good fortune, and the strength of our army, these who wished evil to us have been destroyed. One day after another has been bringing fresh victories. For example, the exceedingly strong fortress of Bidar—which none so far had conquered, and which none so much as thought of conquering,—that gate of the entire Deccan and Karnatak, succumbed to us in one day. Others have not been able to take it even after years and years. All the Almighty's doing ! Rejoice in this, and as the valour of our brave men brings us fresh triumph, be attentive to the happy news ;

and remember we are entirely favourable towards you. Moon 18 Rajab, 21 Julus, 1067 Hijri (23rd April 1657).

[Rajwade, Vol. VIII, No. 5]

. . .

(2) Then he plundered the city of Junnar. Two hundred horses were captured. He returned to Poona with goods worth 3 lakhs of hons besides clothes and jewels. Then he looted the city of Ahmadnagar, fought a great battle with the Moghuls, and captured seven hundred horses. Elephants also were taken. A great deal of treasure was found. The number of horses then reached 1,200 and that of Shilledars(1) 2,000. There was thus a total of 3,000 horsemen.

[Sabhasad, p. 5]

(3) Let Shivaji Bhonsle, eminent among his equals [etc. . . .] know :—

Your application, sent with your envoy Raghunathpant, together with the letters of Krishnaji Bhaskar Pandit, has been received and the contents noted. Although your former doings are not such as may be forgiven, still we take it that you have repented of them, that you realise that this Court will not be remiss in punishing such acts, and that you have definitely turned to us ; we therefore, forgive these former doings. You should be gratified at this and put forth your best efforts on our behalf. You write : "A promise should be given to me that my hereditary territory and forts, in Konkan as well as up-country, except Nagar, which are under the Adilkhan of Bijapur, would be made over to me when that country is conquered. I shall then send Sonopant to the Presence ; and acting in your interest and defending the Imperial frontiers, shall make common cause with your officers so that there should be no rebellion or other trouble." As regards this, you should act as you suggest ; and immediately on receiving this *firman*, write an application embodying what you want, and send it with Sonopant. Action will then be taken on it accordingly. Knowing this, act in our interest and remember we are entirely favourable towards you. Moon 1, Jamadil-akhar, 1068 Hijri (24th February 1658).

[Rajwade, Vol. VIII, No. 6]

(4) To Krishnaji Bhaskar, Deshadhikari and Kulkarni, District Twelve Mavals :—

Salutations of Shivaji Raje. Suhur Tisa Khamsen Alaf.(2) An order was formerly sent to you that there was a dispute about the boundary between the two villages Kalboli of Paun Maval division and Ravde of Paud-khore division. Thereupon you proceeded to the above-mentioned village and took the dispute into consideration. Arjoji Dhamale submitted that the boundary line of his village was the true boundary and that he was prepared to submit to the ordeal. Thereupon all the village authorities were called together and an ordeal was decided on. But then the

(1) Men who find their own horse, as distinguished from Bargirs, who are provided with one by their employer. See notes, p. 49.

(2) *i.e.*, Suhur 1059 (24th May 1658—23rd May 1659 A.D.)

next day Arjoji Dhamale, Desh[mukh] of Paudkhore remained [absent]. So Narhari Divakar Desh[Kulkarni] of Paun Maval and Havji Patil of Kalboli came to Purandhar and reported about it. But then the Saheb went to the Karnatak on an expedition. When he returns from those parts, he will give what decision he likes..... A copy of this letter should be taken and the original handed over to Narhari Divakar Deshkulkarni. Moon 13, Moharram[1].

[Chaturtha-Sammelan-Vritta, p. 79]

(5) From the office of Lord Khan Alishan Khan Afzalkhan Muhammadshahi—may he be prosperous for ever !—

To the clerks of the district of Terdal[2]; Suhur year 1060.

As Shivaji harassed the country-side of the above mentioned district, Krishnagauda Desai took much pains and maintained foot-soldiers and horsemen and defeated the enemy. So, being pleased with the above-named Desai, we have given him the following [etc.]......

Date 29th Jilhej[3]

[Shiva-Charitra-Pradip, p. 83]

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(1) 1st October 1658.

(2) 16° 30′ N. 75° 5′ E. 60 miles N. E. of Belgaum.

(3) 8th August 1659.

IV.—AFZALKHAN

[In 1659 the Bijapur government made the first serious attempt to crush Shivaji, when it sent Afzalkhan for that purpose. *Firmans* were issued by the government to the Deshmukhs of the Mavals, ordering them to give all possible help to Afzalkhan (No. 1). In addition Afzalkhan wrote to some himself (Nos. 4 and 5), or had letters sent to them by persons in his confidence, *e.g.*, to Kanhoji Jedhe (No. 2)(1). It must have been a critical moment for these Deshmukhs ; they must calculate, and declare on the right side ; to take up the side of Shivaji, especially, was to proclaim one's self openly as a rebel. Some, like the Khopdes, joined Afzalkhan at once ; Kanhoji Jedhe hesitated, but having made up his mind and joined Shivaji, he used his influence, if we are to believe an account preserved in the Jedhe family, to win over others to the same side (No. 6).

For long historians denounced Shivaji as the murderer of Afzalkhan, but this point has now been authoritatively settled by Professor Sarkar (Shivaji pp. 79-81). The authorities on the Maratha side—the Bakhars, the powada, the Shiva-Bharat,-all (with one exception, the 91-Kalmi Bakhar) declare that Afzalkhan struck the first blow. We may add, with regard to the point mentioned by Professor Sarkar on p. 81, *viz.*, why 'if Afzalkhan meant treachery, he did not keep his troops in readiness for delivering an assault or at least for defending themselves', that he *did* keep a considerable body of men near enough to the place of meeting, if Sabhasad and Chitnis are to be believed. According to Sabhasad he started with some 1,000 or 1,500 men, and when objection was taken to this, left them at the distance of a bowshot. According to Chitnis, when objection was taken to his bringing a large number of men with himself, these were left at different places on the way (Chitnis p. 132). More adequate preparations than these may have been considered unnecessary. Shivaji, on the other hand, had made his arrangements for all eventualities.

From the point of view of the ultimate result the interview was hardly so important as Afzalkhan's advance to Javli. When, partly because he was enticed to it by Shivaji's offers of submission, partly from military considerations, Afzalkhan advanced to Javli, he was a beaten man(2). The

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(1) But see note *, p. 64, post.

(2) An important point about the date of Afzalkhan's occupation of Javli is raised by the two letters to Kanhoji Jedhe printed below (Nos. 2 and 3). In No. 2, the writer says 'We are riding, and have left the Taighat behind' apparently on the way to Javli. The letter is dated 17th March 1659. Are we to suppose that Afzalkhan occupied Javli as early as March ? This was the view held by the late Mr. V. L. Bhave in his brochure on "The Death of Afzalkhan." According to him Afzalkhan came to Javli with the object of reducing Pratapgad, but when he failed in his object, after six or seven months entered into negotiations with Shivaji, which resulted in the interview and his death. All our authorities, however, represent the advance to Javli as having been made with a view to the interview and as immediately preceding it. Besides, on this view the rout of Afzalkhan's army after his death would be much less intelligible. A way out of the difficulty may be found in the supposition that the reference in No. 2 is to some advance party sent by Afzalkhan.

But see note *, p. 64, post.

Shiva-Bharat puts this very well: when he reached Javli, the Khan congratulated himself on having made a prize; while Shivaji thought to himself, "Now he has come into my hands". (Shiva-Bharat XX 48; below p. 72). It describes also how, after the Khan's death, his army was easily broken because "the hilly ground was good for foot-soldiers but not for cavalry" (*Ib.* XXIII 29.) The Shiva-Bharat tells us that Afzalkhan's officers objected to the advance to Javli, but he in his over-confidence over-ruled them. According to Sabhasad, when Shivaji proposed an interview at Javli, Afzalkhan demurred, and made Sivaji's envoy swear to his safety before he consented (Below p. 77). On the other hand, he had little hope of reducing Pratapgad; Shivaji must be drawn out in some way. ("Shivaji has entered the woods; he must be drawn out by some artifice; then I shall inspire confidence in him and get an interview, and do service to the Padshah according to opportunity"—Chitnis pp. 122-3). If he would not come to Wai, but was agreeable to Javli, it would be as well to advance to Javli. The easy possession of Javli would be an additional advantage. In this way, partly hope, partly over-confidence led Afzalkhan on to Javli and to his destruction].

(1) Firman of Ali Adil Shah to Kanhoji Jedhe

This gracious Royal *Firman* is issued to Kanhoji Jedhe: Suhur year 1059. Shivaji out of narrow-mindedness and evil propensities has started troubling the Muhammadans residing in the Nizamshahi Konkan. He has plundered them. He has also captured several forts in our territory. Therefore in order to drive him out and conquer him, we have appointed Afzalkhan possessed of valour and prestige, the most capable and efficient of our noblemen [etc., etc.] as the Governor of that province and sent him with a most formidable army. You must therefore carry out his commands, obey him, and do all the offices of a servant, and defeat and exterminate Shivaji. You must not give quarter to Shivaji's men, wherever they may be or from wheresoever they may come but must kill them. You must give proof of your good-will to this Court and your readiness to serve it. For if Afzalkhan reports about it, your good-will to the Court will be recognised, your status increased and your welfare secured. You should therefore comply with and act according to whatever the above-mentioned Khan tells you or writes to you about the good of this Court and the business of this Government. And whoever does not do so should know well that no good will come to him. Knowing this, you should obey this Royal Order. Date 5th Sawwal 1069. (1)

[Shivaji Souvenir. English section 142-3;
Marathi Section 120-1]

(2) Afzalkhan's attempt to win over Kanhoji Jedhe

From—Trimbak Kanho Havaldar, Wai District;

To—Kanhoji Naik, Deshmukh, Tape Bhor, Fort Rohida.

A promise from His Honour Khan Azam [Afzalkhan] has been sent. You should therefore have no hesitation with respect to anything, but

(1) 16th June 1659. 1069 is the year according to the Hijri era.

immediately on receiving this letter, take horse and come with your men with the greatest possible speed. If you carry this affair to a suc[cessful] conclusion there is promotion and advancement for you. I have written to you about this before ; you must have learnt everything from that letter. Take horse and come at once. Provision will be made here for the expenses of the men also. Bring good fighting men with you. We are riding, and have left the Taighat behind. Moon 3 Rajab.(1)*

[Rajwade, Vol. XV, No. 336]

(3) Shivaji's letter to Kanhoji Jedhe

From—Shivaji Raje ;

To—Kanhoji Jedhe, Deshmukh, Tape Bhor, Fort Rohida.

I have learnt everything from the letter you sent. You wrote thus: "Khan Alishah Khan Azam [Afzalkhan) writes that he is advancing on Javli and wishes me to join him with my men at once." Now you and he have been on friendly terms for a long time. So go you must. But if you decide to go in person, or to send any of your sons, first take his word of honour, and then go, else there may be treachery. Have some good man as an intermediary and then go. Perhaps you think of going in person ; and you have no suspicion in your mind ; still it would be better to send one of your sons, with some men, after taking a proper promise. Make some excuse or other, and do not go in person. I have written to you about either alternative. You are wise ; it is unnecessary to write more. Received, Moon 24 Rajab.(2)*

[*Ib.*, No. 338]

(4) Afzalkhan's letter to Shivaji Jedhe, son of Kanhoji Jedhe

[This letter has been published by Mr. D. V. Apte in the Bharata-Itihasa-Samshodhaka-Mandala's Quarterly, Volume VII, on p. 104. It was discovered, he tells us, among the papers of the Jedhe family at Kari.]

Letter of assurance from Khan Alishan Khan-i-Azam Afzalkhan(3) to Shivaji son of Kanhoji Jedhe, Suhur 1060. To wit :—Krishnaji Pandit Havaldar, Wai District, and Amaji Anandrao, Fort Rohida, wrote to us about you, and we learnt everything from their letters. We are aware, then, that your father and brothers have been serving Shivaji Bhonsle for some ten or twenty years. But you need have no hesitation about that ; you should come to our presence ; you will not suffer on that account. You are a friend of the Court. So, without feeling any hesitation or suspicion, and with full confidence, you should take horse and come to the Presence. When you come here, due provision and promotion will be made. Knowing this, come immediately. That is a solemn promise. Date 22 Mohurrum.(4)

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(1) 17th March 1659. (?)
(2) 7th April 1659. (?)
(3) Titles, etc., omitted.
(4) 30th September 1659.

* But these letters may belong, not to 1659, but to 1649 (Shake 1571). The letters themselves give the month and date, but not the year.

(5) Letter from Afzalkhan to Vithoji Haibatrao, Deshmukh of Gunjan Maval

From—Sarsubha Khan Alishan Khan Afzalkhan [etc.];
To—Vithoji Haibatrao, Deshmukh of Gunjan Maval.

Suhur 1060,(1). Krishnaji Bhaskar, Desai (?) of Wai District, spoke to us about you in various appreciative terms, which have convinced us. You have the reputation of being a valuable man. This is a time for work. Have no hesitation in any respect; have trust, and come to Javli with your men; and sharing whole-heartedly in any business as ordered, exhibit your sincerity. You will then get the provision and the advancement which you desire.

[Rajwade, Vol. XVII, No. 11]

(6) [The following passage is from the Jedhe Kareena, or "Account of the Jedhes," another document found among the papers of the Jedhes at Kari, and printed by Messrs. Apte and Divekar in the Shiva-Charitra-Pradip, pp. 39-48. It is based to a great extent on the Jedhe Chronology. The document is perhaps incomplete; it comes to what seems a sudden stop at the year 1689. The present passage describes how Kanhoji Jedhe not only stood by Shivaji during Afzalkhan's invasion but won over other Deshmukhs to Shivaji's side.]

Thereupon Afzalkhan was sent from Bijapur to invade this kingdom. He sent firmans from the Padshah to all the Maval Deshmukhs to join him with their men. Kedarji Khopde had joined him already. Khandoji Khopde had remained; he also joined him now. Then Kanhoji Naik wrote to Shivaji. The latter replied, advising him to send his son after taking a promise of safety; or if he wished to go himself, to do so after considering it well. Thereupon Kanhoji Naik went, together with his five sons, to see Shivaji at Shivapatan. He saw him, and said to him in private, "The Maharaj [Shahaji] gave me into your service after taking an oath from me. I shall be true to that oath. Myself and my five sons and my men shall fight to the death for the sake of the Saheb. Anyone may then enjoy our *watan*. But never shall we be false to our plighted word." Then Shivaji said, "But your *watan* will thus be in danger." Kanhoji Naik said, "I have renounced the *watan* for the sake of the Saheb." "If so," said Shivaji, "first pour water from the hand in renunciation of the *watan*, and then speak further." Then as desired by Shivaji, Kanhoji poured water from his hand in renunciation of the *watan*. . . . . . [Shivaji asks Kanhoji to keep his family, for greater safety, at Talegaon, and then he and Kanhoji mutually exchange oaths of loyalty and protection]. . . . Then Shivaji said, "Hold a meeting with the rest of the Maval Deshmukhs and see what they say." Then Kanhoji and the other Maval Deshmukhs sat together. The latter said, "Tell us what

(1) May 1659—May 1660 A.D.

you think." He replied, "Loyal to Shivaji, I have even solemnly renounced my *watan*; we are firmly resolved, myself and my sons, to fight to the death for Shivaji. Tell me what *you* intend. The Khan is a treacherous Mussalman. When his object has been accomplished he will find some trumpery excuse and ruin us. This is our own Maratha government; we should all take heart, and with our men follow Shivaji and serve him loyally." When he spoke these and similar spirited words, all the Deshmukhs said "Your thought is also ours, certainly and truly." Then Kanhoji came to Shivaji with all the Deshmukhs, and all of them took oaths.

(7) Then, summoning Afzal, the chief of his army, Adilshah himself spoke to him thus, suitably to the occasion :—

"Among all this numerous army, you alone are my true friend—enemy to gods and Brahmins, a second Iron Age as it were.

"Starting with a large army, you formerly defeated in battle kings of the line of Rama Raja.[1]

"While your prowess, painful to foes, is awake, even Srirangaraja[2] has no inclination for war.

"You by your valour subdued in an instant the proud king of Karnapura,[3] as a charmer subdues a furious snake..........

"Is it not a wonder, then, that while such an unconquerable warrior is still active, Shivaji, the son of Shahaji, insults me day and night?

"Alas! that proud, energetic warrior, devoted to his own religion, has been destroying the religion of Muhammadans!

"Having gradually occupied the difficult forest tracts, like a lion, he, obeying no one but himself, pays no heed to my commands......

"Had he not been prevented by Mahmud, my father, he would have driven the lord of Rajpuri[4] into the sea.

"Conquering Chandrarao, with his sons and ministers, he occupied Javli without opposition.

"The Nizamshahi territory, with hills, and forests, and mines, which I ceded to Aurangzib in order to make peace, has been forcibly seized by that capable but rude and unruly fellow [Shivaji], without paying any heed to us or to the Moghuls.

"Unexpectedly does the wicked fellow, given to a life of plunder, come and loot my cities and towns and villages.

"Fearing nobody, he makes a day's, a fortnight's, even a month's journey, it is said, in a moment.

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(1) Probably Rama Raja of Vijayanagar, who was defeated in the battle of Talikota in 1565.

(2) Probably Sri Ranga Rayal, the last nominal King of the Vijayanagar line.

(3) Karnool.

(4) *i.e.*, the Siddi of Janjira.

"From childhood has this man, mischievous by nature, but of great and active capacity, been insulting Muhammadans.

"He occupied Nagar and other Moghul cities, and punished them severely.

"Even the Emperor of Delhi, fearing him, does not feel assured of the safety of the Nizamshahi territory, conquered by him with great difficulty............

"Is this mighty man, slowly advancing further and further, going to take away our kingdom and make it his own ?

"None of the brave men whom I repeatedly sent to conquer him, has returned after meeting that powerful person.

"I do not see any one except you who is likely to conquer him, who fears nobody, and destroys hostile warriors.

"Do you go, therefore; catch him, who is as it were an evil planet incarnate, and, taking shelter in forts, is difficult to catch; and bring him hither."

Thus addressed in confidence by proud Adilshah, Afzal was pleased, and spoke thus with respect to the matter in hand:—

"When the master orders the servant, lovingly and confidentially, to do something, it is the master who really accomplishes it; the servant is only secondary.

"The capacity of destroying enemies which is in me has been today roused into activity by you by giving me something to do...........

"I promise that I shall securely bind that man, ever defiant, and wicked like Death, and bring him to your Presence..........

"I entered the Karnatak and conquered hundreds of kings. Vain is that triumph of mine, if I continue to live without conquering Shivaji."

When Afzal had said this, Adilshah, anxious to despatch him, who, proud of his great power, was instantly ready to undertake the promised business, honoured him with many presents..........

He gave him his own sword, which he carried in his hand, which was sharp like the edge of Indra's thunderbolt, and which was placed in a jewelled scabbard.

And Afzal bore the dagger, with a jewelled scabbard, which, too, his master lovingly placed in his belt.

Then having made him many parting obeisances again and again, the mountain-like Afzal started...........

The high-minded Adilshah gave the command of the army to Afzal, who was held in esteem by all soldiers, and ordered other captains of contingents to assist him.

Ambar, like the demon Shambara; the valiant Yakut; proud Musekhan; Hasan the Pathan; Randulla, son of Randulla; Ankush-khan, moving about like an unrestrained elephant; the long-armed

Siddi Hilal,..... who became the bought son of Kheloji; —these and other Muhammadans, with their contingents and friends, immediately followed the general at the command of their master.

And the Ghorpades also, of terrible deeds, skilled in war, conquerors of many enemies, followed him. Pandhre Naik; Kharate Naik; Kalyan Jadhav, leading many men; Mambaji Bhonsle, eager to fight; Ghatges and Kates(1), famous through the world for valorous deeds:— these and other chiefs, and thousands of feudatories, followed the general with their fourfold army.

Then, starting at the time advised by astrologers, he met with many evil omens, prognosticating disaster. . . . .

Though these and other omens advised him to retire, he still persevered in his advance, like Namuchi. . . . .

And, entertaining in his mind a great wrong, he quickly neared the district of Wai.

[Shiva-Bharat, Ch. XVII]

The wise ones asked :—

"Why did that wicked man neglect Shivaji, who was in Poona, and go with his army to Wai ?"

Kavindra said :—

....After overpowering Bajirao and proud Krishnarao, and their father, the powerful Chandrarao, in war, Shivaji captured the formidable town of Javli......

The powerful warrior Shivaji killed all the relatives of Chandrarao and all who helped him.

Then one of Chandrarao's relatives, by name Prataprao, fled from fear of Shivaji and sought refuge with Adilshah.

Desirous of gaining the throne of Chandrarao the shrewd man won the favour of Adilshah by long service. His anxiety was removed when Adilshah promised that the former territory of Chandrarao should be taken from Shivaji and definitely made over to him; and he helped Afzal in his expedition.

Then that proud kinsman of Chandrarao gave counsel to Afzal and brought him to Wai.

"The master of Javli is master of the whole Wai district, and the whole Sahyadri, and the sea with its islands:"—with this idea, that long-armed Muhammadan came to Wai, ready to take Javli first of all.

Then the Muhammadan Afzal, having come with his army, and quickly occupied Wai, with a view to the capture of Javli, the wise

(1) Or perhaps Kamtes. The word in the text is 'Kantika's. See also below, p. 74 n. 1.

king Shivaji, intent on offering resistance, thought proudly thus to himself :—

"This valiant warrior, sent by the proud Adilshah, offended with me, will perform deeds of valour bearing out his reputation. This is that Muhammadan, owing to whose wickedness, the enormities of this Iron Age have been increasing. This wicked man, in might like the demon Nishumbha, insulted the goddess of Tuljapur....... He is the enemy of all Religion, the friend of all Irreligion. As such, I ought indeed to kill him, who has come here at an opportune time.......................................

It is indeed *my* business to be born again and again in different ages and protect gods, and Brahmins, and cows.

I am that Lord Vishnu, the essence of all gods.......who have appeared on earth to remove its burden............

Entering the terrible forest of Javli, my home, the home of the lion, the enemy Afzal,—the elephant—will meet his death. ...."

Having resolved thus to himself, the great Shivaji ordered his general to harry the enemy's country; appointed suitable officers, diligent in their respective duties, for the protection of his own territory and forts; and himself....with the infantry came to Javli.

Then hearing that Shivaji, with a large and well-equipped army, ...had himself taken post in Javli and was awaiting battle, Afzal sent a message to him, who was cognisant of all things;—listen, O wise ones, to all that; I shall recount it to you.

Afzal said :—

"The insolence which you have been showing at every step has become a thorn in the Adilshah's heart.

"The territory, which, after the disappearance of the Nizam, had been taken by Adilshah, and which had been given by him to the Moghuls in the interest of peace—that territory, full of hill-forts, has been taken and appropriated by you, O son of Shahaji.

"The lord of Rajpuri, who was more than once besieged and deprived of his territory by you, ever fortunate, is angry with you.

"You invaded, and after fighting, forcibly seized this wide kingdom of Chandrarao, althogether inaccessible to the enemy.

"You took Kalyan and Bhivandi, and, they say, destroyed the mosques of Muhammadans.............

"Not considering your own strength, you restrain the holy men of the Muhammadans, and fearlessly obstruct the way of the Muhammadans.

"As you freely assume emblems of Imperial sovereignty; sit unjustly on a golden throne; award favours and punishments to men on your

own authority; indeed, haughtily and waywardly refuse to render obeisance to those to whom it is due; and moving freely as you like, fear nobody;—therefore have I been sent by the great Adilshah......

"Now, O king, obey my order, make peace, and give up all forts and territory.

"Sinhgad and Lohgad, great and strong forts; so also the fort of Purandhar, and the city of Chakan; also the territory between the Nira and the Bhima;—surrender these to the Emperor of Delhi, of immeasurable power.

"And Alishah asks of you this Javli, which you seized forcibly from Chandrarao."

Listening in private to the contents of the enemy's letter which had arrived, that incomparable hero, the jewel among princes, conceived in his mind a certain plan.

[*Ib.*, Ch. XVIII]

Kavindra said:—

Casting his eye—in the form of spies—in all directions, Shivaji attentively watches everything, internal as well as external.

Then he summoned an envoy expert in his business, and sent the following reply to the enemy:—

Shivaji said:—

"That you, who annihilated all the princes of the Karnatak in war, should show even this much grace to me, is a great deal.

"Incomparable is the strength of your arms; your valour is like fire. You are an ornament to the Earth; there is no guile in you.

"If you would see the splendours of these woods, come and have a view of this Javli.

"It is best, I think, that you come here now. That will free me from all fear, and will promote my advancement.

"I have nothing but contempt for the army of the haughty Moghuls; also for that of Adilshah—excepting you, of terrible power.

"Come along, and be careful on the journey. I shall give up the forts and, as you ask for it, this Javli also.

"Looking on you, who are terrible to look at, without fear, I shall place the sword in my hand in front of you.

"Seeing this ancient, vast forest, your army will experience the comforts of the shades of the nether world."

Giving this message, like a mnemonic line, containing few words, but much meaning, Shivaji despatched his envoy.

On hearing that message delivered by Shivaji's envoy that wicked man thought that he had accomplished his master's business.

Though in Wai, that Muhammadan thought that Javli was already completely in his hand—Javli which is three yojanas* distant from Wai.

[Afzalkhan summons his men and announces his intention of accepting Shivaji's invitation and going to Javli. A few of his advisers point out the impolicy of his decision.]

The counsellors said :—

"You may certainly do your will, O master. When Destiny stands in the way, who can turn a man from his purpose ?

"If Shivaji trusts you with a clear conscience, let him at once come out of the forest of Javli.

"Let him make a present of all that is his for your pleasure; let him make obeisance and bend his neck at each step.

"The bowman who since his childhood never bent his head, even in a dream, before any lord except the God Shiva alone; who, with his great might, has been, since his childhood, performing almost superhuman deeds, as we have been hearing; who hates the very sight of Muhammadans, and, being the leader of his own religion, does not listen to their speech;—if he fearlessly invites you there, he contemplates, we fear, some violence.........."

Proud, blinded by hate, he heard what they said but made light of them, and, his eyes turned red, spoke thus :—

Afzal said :—

"The haughty enemy, who has been offending against us since his very birth, how will he himself come near us ?

"As for your praise of him, being human, as performing superhuman deeds,—that, I suppose, is in ignorance of my own valour.

"I broke the armies of the princes of the Karnatak with the hoofs of my galloping horses; even now I have routed the very gods by destroying various holy places; seeing me,—pre-eminent above all, burning with anger,—near him, even the God of Death himself will consent to make peace............". Saying so to those his counsellors the wicked man started at once.

[*Ib*., Ch. XIX]

[In the meanwhile the goddess Tulja appears to Shivaji, tells him that Afzal Khan is treacherous and intends to fight, that he is a demon in the form of a Muhammadan, and that it is decreed that he should die at Shivaji's hand]

Then, sitting in the assembly-room within the walls of Pratapgad, Shivaji summoned his captains and spoke to them thus :—

"At my invitation that well-connected Muhammadan is coming here with his army with a view to making peace.

"It is now my wish, therefore, that this hostile army should be allowed to reach this forest without any hindrance from you.

* A yojana=8 miles.

"He wishes to see me privately; if he hears that I am accompanied by you, soldiers ready with their weapons, he might suspect danger.

"So all keep ready and remain in the neighbourhood, yet concealed inside the deep forest, without being detected by the enemy.

"If, after giving his word, he still refuses to make peace, you should attack his army when our drum is sounded."

Thus the great king secretly instructed them, as if he was imparting to them some esoteric doctrine; the enemy, too, reached that way with his army..........

Having reached Javli, the powerful Afzal thought to himself that he had captured it.

While Shivaji, hearing that he had reached Javli, thought: "Luckily he has come into my hands."

Then the enemy camped together, weary and frightened, on the bank of the Koyna, full of thickets of bamboo trees.

While, in that fearful place, all his soldiers were afraid, proud Afzal alone was without fear. . . . .

Then both Shiva and Afzal sent envoys to each other to inquire about each other's health.

Shiva knew Afzal's mind, and the latter his; the truth of the matter God alone knew; the common people believed that peace was being made.

[Shivaji invites jewellery merchants from Afzalkhan's camp to Pratapgad, saying that he wishes to buy some jewels for making presents to Afzalkhan and his captains.]

"Raja Shivaji has trust in me; so I shall now meet him under colour of arranging peace, and, myself plunging my concealed dagger deep into his heart, shall presently create panic even in the abode of the gods":— thus the Muhammadan planned treachery in his own mind; how Shivaji, knowing all that, prepared to visit him with the fruits of his treachery in battle—all that I will tell you. (1)An account of his famous deeds is, to my mind, the true nectar; the tales of other nectar are vain.

[*Ib.*, Ch. XX]

Kavindra said :—

I shall now recount to you, O excellent Brahmins, what agreement the two, eager to meet each other,. . . . . . made through their envoys; listen.

Leaving his army as it was, Afzal should start alone, and armed; he should come forward in a palki; there might be not more than two or three servants to attend on him. He should come along like that to the slope of Pratapgad and stay in the *mandap* waiting for Shivaji. Shivaji too should come armed, and receive the guest with suitable honour. For the safety of each, ten brave, loyal, armed men should

(1) The construction of this sentence is doubtful.

stand behind each at the distance of a bowshot. Then the two should meet and in secret do that which would ensure the welfare of all.

Thus the two agreed, and secretly intending deception, wished to meet each other.

Then hearing that he was approaching the foot of Pratapgad, Shivaji Maharaj got ready.

He worshipped the God Shiva as usual according to the priest's directions, with various things ; made the usual gifts, took a light meal, sipped holy water a number of times ; and contemplated the goddess Tulja for a moment in his own mind ; then put on suitable dress, and looked at his own incomparable face in the mirror for a moment ; got up from his seat, bowed to the priest and other Brahmins, and received their blessings ;... gave directions to his brave followers, who had made ready to come with him, to defend Pratapgad ; and then went forward to give a hearty reception to that Muhammadan, who had approached and was waiting with guile in mind, as to a guest.

Shivaji Bhonsle, clad in armour—but of what use was the armour to him of adamant-like frame ?—looked very handsome with his white turban with its crest, and with his coat coloured with saffron spray.

Bearing a dagger in one hand, and a sword in the other, he looked like Vishnu incarnate, with his Nandaka sword and his mace.

Then the enemy saw the brave Shivaji issuing from the mountain-side like a lion, approaching with quick steps and standing before himself.........

Shivaji, too, seeing him in front, ... smilingly met his gaze with his own.

In order to inspire confidence in that vigilant enemy, the brave son of Shahaji, ... the wicked, deceptive man [Afzalkhan] handed over his victorious sword, which he had been carrying in his hand, to his attendant.

Then the doomed man, affecting friendship, said to him in a loud voice :—

" O you, behaving waywardly and vainly set on fighting, why have you been going astray from the right path and taking to an evil one ?

" You think too much of yourself and do not serve or care for either Adilshah or Kutubshah or the powerful Emperor of Delhi.

" That is why I have come to teach a lesson to you, arrogant as you are. Give up these forts ; don't be covetous, and surrender to me.

" With my own hand I shall take you to Bijapur, make you bend your head before Alishah, and by humble request to that powerful lord, procure for you still greater splendour.

" Urchin ! son of Shahaji ! Don't be bewildered, put your hand in mine and give me an embrace."

So saying he held his neck with the left hand, and with the other, struck him in the side with a dagger.

An expert wrestler, Shivaji quickly released his neck from his hand, and keeping his head cool, and slightly contracting his body, avoided the dagger as it was entering his side.

Then the courageous, capable Shivaji . . . . prepared himself to repay that injury. Shouting " Here I give you the thrust of a dagger ; take it ; prevent me if you can ", and waving the naked weapon with both his hands, Shivaji. . . . . . thrust the tip of the dagger into his side.

Thrust quickly into the side of the enemy up to the back, that dagger came out with the entrails. . . . .

" He has killed me ; kill him, the enemy, at once !" While Afzalkhan was saying so, his attendant took up that same sword of his, and came up to Shivaji with intent to kill him.. . . .

Hearing that he was a Brahmin, the wise and righteous Shivaji did not wish to kill him, although he had attacked him.

Before Afzal's soldiers had arrived, he aimed at Shivaji a blow with his sword.

Shivaji received his sword upon his own ; and with a stroke cut his master's head into two.

Seeing their lord killed, the leaders of the Muhammadan army,—Abdul Sayyad ; Bada Sayyad ; Rahimkhan, Afzalkhan's nephew ; the well-born and proud Pahilwankhan ; Pilaji and Shankraji Mohite ; and four other Muhammadans—these followers of Afzalkhan, powerful and violent men, got excited, and waving their weapons, attacked Shivaji in a body in order to kill him. . . . .

Then the ten warriors, protectors of Shivaji, *viz.*, Sambhaji Kavji, Kataji Ingle, Kondaji and Yesaji Kank, Krishnaji Gaikwad, Surji Katke,(1) Jiva Mahala, Visaji Murumbak, Sambhaji Karwar, and Siddi Ibrahim, opposed the former, as mountains oppose winds.

[The followers of Afzalkhan are routed. Jiva Mahala kills Bada Sayyad.]

At noon on Thursday, the 7th day of the bright half of the month of Margashirsha in the Shalivahana year 1581, of the name Vikari, was Afzal, enemy to gods, killed by Shivaji.

[*Ib.*, Ch. XXI]

(8) At Bijapur Ali Adilshah began to reign, and the Badi Sahebin, widow of Sultan Mahmud, looked after the whole administration. They learnt this news(2) and felt much distressed. The " Padshahi forts have been captured," they thought, " a large territory, too, has been subjugated; one or two principalities have been overthrown. He has become a rebel. How shall we proceed to beat and destroy him ?" They wrote letters to Shahaji Raje, who was at Bangalore, and sent them with a Mahaldar ; " You are a Government servant, and your son Shivaji, whom you sent

(1) Or Kate or Kamte ? The word in the text is Kantaka. See also above p. 65 note.

(2) *i.e.*, about Shivaji's doings

to Poona, has turned away from the Padshah and become a traitor. He has taken four Government forts; conquered and plundered a large territory; overthrown one or two principalities; and killed one or two chiefs who had been loyal to the Padshah. Now keep your son under discipline, or else the Government will deal with him." Thus they wrote. The Maharaja answered, "It is true Shivaji is my son; but he fled from me, and is no longer under my control. As for myself I am faithfully loyal to the Padshah. His Majesty may send an expedition against Shivaji, my son, or take any other steps he likes; I shall not interfere."

Then the Badi Sahebin summoned all the Adilshahi chiefs and Umrahs and asked who was willing to be sent against Shivaji. No one agreed. The chief Afzalkhan, however, took it up. "What is Shivaji? I shall take him alive and bring him here, a prisoner, without ever alighting from my horse." When he said this, the Princess was pleased, presented to him dresses, and ornaments, and elephants, and horses and wealth and honours, and despatched him with Umrahs of note, and 12,000 horse, besides infantry.

Then the whole force came together and formed a vast camp. It came to Tuljapur, and made a halt there. The Goddess Bhavani, the patron goddess of the Maharaja's family, was broken, and pounded to dust in a mill. No sooner was Bhavani broken than a heavenly voice was heard—"Afzalkhan! thou wretch! On the twenty-first day from this will I behead thee: the whole of thine army will I destroy and satiate the nine crores of Chamundas (1) with their blood." Thus the bodyless voice. Then the army marched and came to Pandharpur, and encamped on the bank of the Bhima. After committing sacrilege on the god, it came to Wai. Arriving there, Afzalkhan thought to himself, "It would be well to send an envoy to Shivaji, to make a truce, and, by creating confidence, to capture him alive." Forming this plan in his mind, he summoned the envoy Krishnaji Bhaskar and gave him this message: "There have been long-standing friendship and brotherly relations between your father, the Maharaj, and myself. You are, therefore, no stranger to me. You should come and visit me. I shall obtain for you the grant of the principality of Talkonkan and other jagirs from the Padshah, as well as a confirmation of the forts and strongholds which you have taken. I shall also recommend you for other distinctions. I shall obtain for you as great a Saranjam (2) as you may desire. See the Padshah if you will; otherwise I shall get you an exemption from personal attendance also." These and many other such things he said, and wound up by telling Krishnajipant "Get Shivaji here for an interview for arranging a truce. Or else *I* shall come to *him*." Then he was despatched.

Meanwhile the news reached Shivaji that Afzalkhan was appointed from Bijapur with twelve thousand horse. When he learnt this, he thought of preparing his whole army and cavalry, of going to Pratapgad, and of fighting at Javli. But all tried to dissuade him; it would be better, they

(1) An emanation of the goddess Durgā, springing from her forehead to encounter the demons Chanda and Munda.

(2) Assignment of revenue from villages or lands for the support of troops or for personal military service, usually for the life of the grantee (Wilson).

said, not to give battle, but to make peace. To which Shivaji replied : "He will kill me, as he killed Sambhaji. I would do what I can by fighting. Peace I will not conclude." That was what he decided. Then at night the goddess Bhavani of Tuljapur appeared incarnate to him and said, "I am entirely favourable to you. I shall give you every help. I shall get Afzalkhan killed at your hands, and crown you with success. Have no anxiety." Thus did the goddess hearten and assure him. Shivaji awoke, and, calling Mother Jijabai, told her about the dream. And he called men of note like Gomaji Naik Pansambal the Treasurer, and Krishnaji Naik and Subhanji Naik, [and others], and related the dream to them all, and said, " The Goddess is favourable, I shall now kill and annihilate Afzalkhan." But the others hesitated : " It is a difficult adventure ; if it succeeds, it is all right ; but if it does not, what will it end in ? " Shivaji said, " It is if we make peace that our life will be forfeited. If we fight, then in case of victory we have what we want ; in case of death we have fame. There is a saying about this :—

> Victory brings fortune, death the celestial maids ;
> The body is transient ; why fear death in battle ?

This is the course prescribed in books of polity. Therefore it is best to fight. Now there is only one arrangement to make. There are Sambhaji, my son, and also my mother. They should be kept at Rajgad. If I kill Afzalkhan and win a victory, then of course I shall myself be there. If perchance I fall in battle, then there is Sambhaji ; you should make him king and obey him." He made his final dispositions like this, exhorted everybody, and placing his head at his mother's feet, took leave. His mother thus blessed him : " Shivba ! Thou shalt be victorious."

Having received the blessing, Shivaji started and went to Pratapgad. Netaji Palkar Sarnobat was instructed to come up to the ghat with his forces. " I shall invite Afzalkhan to Javli," so he was told, " meet him by offering to make peace, and draw him near me by inspiring confidence. You should then come to the Ghat Matha, and block the road." Raghunath Ballal Sabnis was sent with him. And it was arranged that Moropant Peshwa should also come from the Konkan, bringing with him Shamrao Nilkanth and Trimbak Bhaskar.

Meanwhile Krishnajipant came as envoy from the Khan. He was admitted on Pratapgad. He had an interview with Shivaji, and said the various things which he had been instructed to say by the Khan. Some formal conversations took place. Shivaji said, " The Khan is to me in the place of an elder, just like Shahaji ; I shall most certainly have an interview with him." So saying he gave Krishnajipant a house for his quarters, and gave him leave to go there. Next day, Shivaji held a Court. He summoned the principal clerks, the Sardars, and all. Now, there was a faithful and respectable man in Shivaji's service, by name Pantaji Gopinath. He was summoned, and with him he held a private consultation in an apartment. Shivaji said to Pantajipant, " The Khan's envoy Krishnajipant has come with a message. I shall give him leave and send him off, and I wish to send you also to Afzalkhan. You should go there, have an interview, and negotiate with him.

Demand a solemn oath from him. If he demands one from you, make it. Do not hesitate. Anyhow get him to Javli. Besides this, you are to make inquiries in his army by some device or other, in any way that you think suitable. Find out whether the Khan really intends well or ill by me." After giving these instructions, Shivaji came to the Court. Krishnajipant was summoned. This was what Shivaji now said to him: "I want a solemn oath from the Khan. For that reason please take Pantaji Gopinath from our side with yourself to the Khan for an interview, and ask the Khan to give him a written oath with the print of the palm of his hand on it. Bring the Khan to Javli; I shall certainly go and have an interview with Uncle. There is no guile in my mind." So said Shivaji, and the other agreed. Robes of honour were then presented to Krishnajipant and he was sent back. Similarly robes were presented to Pantajipant and he was sent to Afzalkhan.

He went and interviewed the Khan. The Khan received him with honour. Krishnaji Bhaskar submitted that "Shivaji had sent Pantajipant as his envoy, he should be given a private interview." On his saying so, the Khan retired to a private apartment, and, summoning Krishnajipant and Pantajipant asked for the news. Krishnajipant said, "Shivaji does not want to alienate you. He swore that you are to him like Shahaji Maharaj. He will without fear come to Javli. The Khan also should without any suspicion go to Javli. There will be an interview between you two, and he will listen to what you say." When the Khan was informed of Shivaji's message to this effect, he took an oath, but with evil intentions in his mind. And he said, "Shivaji is a treacherous infidel; he asks me to come for an interview to Javli, a difficult, inaccessible place. Therefore, if you, being a Brahmin, stand surety and take an oath, then I shall come to meet him." Thereupon Pantajipant assured him on oath. "Shivaji intends no harm to you. Have no suspicion. Arrange to go for an interview." Thus he said to the Khan; and giving bribes, etc., in the army, he had inquiries made of clerks and officers. They said, "This is how the Khan has contrived; Shivaji is treacherous, and it would be difficult to take him by fighting. Negotiations should therefore be entered into, an interview should be arranged, and he should be captured at the interview." Having got this information, Pantajipant came to the Khan the next day, said that he was returning to Shivaji and asked for leave. The Khan honoured and sent him off to Shivaji.

Pantajipant came to Pratapgad and saw Shivaji. The latter then gave him leave to go home. At night Pantajipant alone was summoned to an interview. Shivaji and Pant sat together; Shivaji, with solemn adjuration, asked him in private about the real state of things. "Tell me the true facts. Tell me what the Khan really intends. You and I are not separate. If my kingdom is preserved, I shall give the entire management to you. I shall give, too, a good deal of wealth. Tell me the true facts." So Shivaji asked him, affecting to treat him like a brother. Then he said, "The Khan entertains evil intentions. He intends, by enticing you to an interview by a truce, to seize you by treachery, and take you a prisoner to Bijapur. If you

have the courage,—I shall bring the Khan to Javli by representing one thing or another, you then muster your courage, kill him single-handed in a lonely place, plunder his army, and make the whole kingdom your own." Such was the plan he suggested. Shivaji approved. He gave Pantajipant a present of 5,000 pagodas, and said: 'Say to the Khan this :—" Shivaji is much afraid. He has not the courage to come to Wai for an interview. He says the Khan is to him like an elder person; if he will be pleased to come to Javli, then he himself will come for an interview. It would be magnanimous of you if you take him by the hand, reassure him, take him for an audience of the Padshah, and thus secure his welfare." Say this and other things to the Khan and get him here. With these instructions he sent off Pantajipant.

He went and saw the Khan at Wai, and gave him the message. 'Shivaji', he said, 'is timid. He is afraid to come here for an interview. You should yourself, therefore, proceed to Javli. He will come there to see you. Give him assurances and take him with you.' The Khan, mightily pleased, started and came down the ghat of Radtondi to Javli. He encamped at the foot of Pratapgad. Round about on all sides, 12,000 soldiers, and musketeers, and artillery waggons, and elephants, and waggons for the *Shutarnala*(1) camped at various places where water could be had. Pantajipant was sent up to the fort with a message asking Shivaji to come to the interview.

Thereupon he went and saw Shivaji, and made a communication suitable to be made in public. Afterwards in private he told him everything. He said, "I have brought the Khan as I had promised. I shall now arrange for a private interview between you two only. You should boldly carry out your intentions." The interview was arranged for the next day but one. "Shivaji should come down from the fort, the Khan should come forward from his camp; and the two should meet by themselves in a tent at some intermediate place";—settling the matter thus, he took leave of Shivaji, and went down the fort to the Khan. He informed the Khan of the arrangement, to which the Khan also agreed.

Next day, Shivaji prepared a place of meeting below the fort. Tents were erected, beds spread, canopies raised, big pillows arranged, tassels of pearls hung; screens of variegated colours were fitted up, bolsters for reclining were laid, cushions and pads placed. The meeting-place was ready. An instruction was sent by word of mouth to Netaji Palkar, who, with his forces, had been ordered to the Ghat Matha: "Tomorrow I go to meet the Khan; I shall win, and return to the fort. Immediately I shall have one shot fired from the fort. You are then to descend the ghat, fall on the Khan's army, and attack it." Moropant Peshwa, who had similarly been ordered from the Konkan, was also informed of the signal of the shot to be fired from the fort. Shivaji descended from the fort with some select men and stationed them in thickets at different points. Then he himself put on a coat of mail. On the head he put on a

(1) Guns mounted on camels.

mandil in which he fastened a tassel of pearls. He put on trousers, tied a sash round the waist, and wore a *bichva* and a *vaghnakh* in the hand. While going to the interview he took with him two brave men,—Jiu Mahala, a dauntless fellow, who had with him a *patta*,(1) a *firang*(2) and a shield, and Sambhaji Kavji Mahaldar, who also had a *patta*, a *firang*, and a shield. Other swordsmen were stationed in bushes at different places. And Shivaji took his bath and his meal. He got ready, and descended from the fort to go to the interview.

The Khan, too, made ready and started from the camp for the interview. With him started 1,000 or 1,500 soldiers with loaded muskets, and many expert swordsmen. Immediately Pantajipant went forward and submitted : "If you go with such an assemblage, the Raja will be frightened, and return to the fort. There will be no interview. What is Shivaji ? What is the necessity of such an ado for an interview with him ? He will come from there with two men ; you should go from here with two men ; then you two should sit together and have an interview. Then you may do there whatever you think proper." On his saying so, the whole assemblage stood at the distance of an arrow-shot, and the Khan himself, a palanquin, two officers, and the envoy Krishnajipant alone went forward. A soldier named Said Banda, an expert swordsman, accompanied. Pantajipant also was in the company. So they came to the pavilion. The Khan burnt in his mind with anger as he saw it, thinking, "What is Shivaji ? Only Shahaji's son. Even a Vazir has not such gold-embroidered bed ! What does a pearl-bedecked pavilion like this mean ? He has got together articles the like of which the Padshah does not possess." As he said this, Pantajipant replied, "The Padshah's things will go to the Padshah's palace. Why worry so much about it ?" They then sat in the pavilion. Messengers were sent to bring Shivaji quickly.

Shivaji was standing at the foot of the fort. Thence he proceeded slowly. He stopped when on enquiry he learnt that Said Banda, an expert swordsman, was with the Khan, and sent for Pantajipant. The latter came. Shivaji said to him, "The Khan is to me like Maharaj [Shahaji]. I am like a nephew to him, and he is like an elder to me. As Said Banda is near the Khan I feel afraid. Only this Said Banda should be sent away from here." So he told Pantajipant. Thereupon Pantajipant went and informed the Khan through Krishnajipant and had Said Banda also sent away. There remained the Khan and the two officers. Then Shivaji also went from this side with two officers, Jiu Mahala and Sambhaji Kavji. The Khan also stood up, and coming forward, met Shivaji. As Shivaji embraced him, the Khan caught his neck tightly under his armpit ; and unsheathing the sword he had in his hand, struck at Shivaji's side. But it made a grating sound against the coat of mail he had on, and did not reach his body. Seeing this, Shivaji, who had the *vaghnakh* in the left hand, struck the Khan's belly with that

(1) A kind of sword. It is long, two-edged, and has a hilt protecting the whole forearm. (Molesworth.)

(2) Sword.

hand. The Khan had only a cloak on ; his bowels came out at the blow of the *vaghnakh*. On the other side, he struck with the *bichva* in his right hand. After dealing two blows like this, he shook his head free from the Khan's grasp and jumping below the terrace, made away. The Khan bawled out : "I am killed ! I am killed ! Treachery ! Run quickly !" As he was saying this, the bearers brought the palanquin, and placing him in it, began to carry him away. Just then Sambhaji Kavji slashed at the feet of the bearers, and felled them below the palanquin. He cut off the Khan's head and with it in his hands came to Shivaji. Meanwhile Said Banda, the swordman, ran up, and aimed blows at Shivaji with his *patta*. The latter took from Jiu Mahala the sword entrusted to him, and parried four blows of Said Banda with his *patta* and *bichva*. While Said Banda was about to strike a fifth blow at Shivaji, Jiu Mahala struck him on the shoulder with his *firang*. The blow severed the sword arm with the weapon in it. Then Shivaji and Jiu Mahala and Sambhaji Kavji Mahaldar went up at once to the fort, carrying the Khan's head with them(1).

[Sabhasad, pp. 8-19]

(1) The account in Chitnis does not differ from Sabhasad's, except on a few minor points. The most important point of difference is that according to Chitnis Shivaji bribed the Khan's envoy, whereas no such thing is mentioned in Sabhasad. But Sabhasad says that Shivaji took his own envoy to a private apartment, and appealed to him to disclose the real intentions of the Khan. Professor Sen thinks this unintelligible, and accepts Chitnis's account that Shivaji bribed Krishnaji Bhaskar as more rational. But may not the explanation be that Shivaji felt the circumstances to be so critical that he must make an appeal to his own envoy ? There does not seem to be anything in what Sabhasad's Shivaji says to the envoy which may not be said by one to a man in one's own employ.

V.—STRENUOUS WARFARE, 1660-1664

[The expedition of Afzalkhan was the first great crisis in Shivaji's career; the removal of that chief, and the defeat of his army were followed by five years of incessant and strenuous warfare, which witnessed the expansion and firm establishment of Shivaji's power. Immediately after the defeat of Afzalkhan, Shivaji occupied the Southern part of the Satara district and the territory round Kolhapur (No. 1). From Panhala he repulsed an attack by Rustum Zeman the Adilshahi Governor of those parts (No. 2) but had presently to stand a mere serious effort under Siddi Johar (No. 3). After the siege had lasted four months, he made his escape at night from Panhala to Vishalgad (No. 4). A party was immediately sent in pursuit, but it was held at bay at the pass of Gajapur, where Baji Prabhu covered himself with glory (No. 5). Panhala was surrendered a little later (No. 6) and Shivaji proceeded to make up for it by invading the middle Konkan (No. 9). Meanwhile, however, the Moghul Subedar of the Deccan, Shaista Khan, had taken Chakan and established himself in Poona (No. 7), for by the late treaty between the Moghuls and Bijapur, that part of the old Nizamshahi Kingdom which had been taken by Bijapur in 1636 had been given to the Moghuls (Sarkar—History of Aurangzib, Volume I, pp. 278-9). The district of Poona, therefore, belonged to the Moghul Empire and Shaista Khan was only taking steps to make the Imperial rule effective in those parts. It was necessary that he should similarly proceed to occupy the Konkan and for this he sent a contingent under Kartalabkhan to descend the ghats and occupy the Konkan. This contingent, however, had to surrender to Shivaji at Umbarkhind (No. 8). The year 1662 Shivaji seems to have spent in strengthening his rule in North Konkan (Jedhe Chronology under year 1584). In 1663 he dealt "a masterly blow" at the Moghuls by his night-attack on Shaista Khan (No. 10) and proceeded to invade the South Konkan (No. 11). Early in 1664 he dealt another blow at the Moghuls by his sack of Surat. There is at unfortunately no satisfactory account of this from the Maratha side. Sabhasad and Chitnis do speak of a sack of Surat, but they are ignorant that there were two sacks of Surat, and they seem to confuse the two.]

(1) Conquests in the Southern Mahratta Country (November 1659)

The wise ones asked :—

"While Shivaji with the infantry drowned that army of Alishah in the ocean of the Javli forest, where was his Commander-in-Chief, with the cavalry, and what was he doing ? Tell us that, O Kavindra."

Kavindra said :—

When Shivaji, conqueror of enemies, started for Javli, ready to destroy that demon Afzal by his might, his Commander-in-Chief started immediately, and by his order, captured the enemy's provinces and looted his cities.

At the same time that proud Muhammadan, devoted to his master's business, sent forth (from Wai) his own valiant captains, who began speedily to occupy Shivaji's territory.

Jadhav, Pandhre, Kharate, Hilal, and Habshi Saifkhan entered and took forcible possession of Supa, Shirwal, Sasvad, Poona district, and Talkonkan, which was full of enemy soldiers, respectively.

Then hearing of the sad condition of his country, brought about by the militant enemy at Afzal's order, Shivaji's Commander-in-Chief.... returned, with the speed of the eagle, to that part of Shivaji's country which had not suffered (from the enemy).

"I shall fight and kill Kharate, and Pandhre, and the indomitable Jadhav, and Hilal, and Saifkhan";—Shivaji learnt of this vow of his Commander-in-Chief, and immediately informed him by a messenger :

'The Muhammadan Afzal—the formidable demon—is coming here to Javli with his army to make peace.

'You should therefore not fight that army of his, but should remain in readiness, until the question of the peace is decided.

'And on the very day on which he and I meet, you should make it a point to come to the neighbourhood of Wai.'

As he had been thus clearly instructed by Shivaji he did not fight further with the enemy, but took up a position in the middle.

And he came to Wai on the day following that on which the fight between Shivaji and Afzal took place.

That is why he could not make captives of Musekhan and the other demons who fled in all directions.........

Quickly they fled ; and when the Commander-in-Chief, Netaji, pursued but could not see them, he returned to Wai.

The great and powerful Shivaji, on his part, made preparations to snatch territory by force from his enemy Alishah, and ....came to Wai with a numerous army.

Then he saw with pleasure the bank of the Krishna rid of the enemy, thanks to his own might, and rejoiced at the happy Brahmins.

Then that valiant man gave the command to his Commander-in-Chief, and set about overrunning other territory.

His army then laid siege to two forts, Chandan and Vandan(1), which were defended by the enemy.

Shivaji himself, who was Vishnu incarnate, came to the city of Schalaya, the abode of wealth ; the enemy fled at his very name.

Then, depressed and shelterless on account of the death of Afzal, and driven out of Poona by the Bhonsle troops, the two Naik chiefs, together with Jadhav, put forward as their leader the famous Hilal, the bought son of Kheloji, and came to the magnanimous and beneficient Shivaji; they received protection from him, and served him steadfastly.

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(1) 10 miles of N. E. of Satara.

Then the powerful man attacked with his troops the following places, levied large contributions, and, giving them assurances, placed them under his own rule :—Khatav, Mayni, Rampur, Kaledhon, Valve, Halajayantika, Ashti, Ashta, Vadgaon, Velapur, Audumbar, Masoor, Karhad, Supe, Tambe, Pali, Nerle, Kameri, Visapur, Save, Uran, Kole, and Kolhapur town.(1)

Then, disposing his army properly roundabout, that chief suddenly laid siege to the fort of Panhala . . . . . .

Then Shivaji's soldiers ascended that hill by force ; though the enemy, brandishing their weapons in their hands, made an attempt to turn them back. . . . . .

Proudly did Shivaji ascend to the top of the hill with his soldiers ; he stationed them there, passed that whole night(2) like day, and viewed again and again the incomparable beauty of the fort, with its ramparts, and mansions, and wells, and beautiful gardens, and spacious lakes.

[Shiva-Bharat, Ch. XXIII]

(2) Defeat of Rustum Zeman and Fazalkhan

Hearing that that fort was taken by Shivaji, Adilshah mourned over it, as a serpent does when its uplifted hood is caught [by a charmer]. . . . .

Then thinking that he himself was not sufficient to suppress Shivaji, he immediately sent for an army from the Emperor of Delhi.

When Shivaji heard that the enemy captains, in complete armour, desired a further fight, he too appointed strong troops for the defence of Panhala, and himself . . . . . went forward with celerity with a varied army.

The enemy, too, came proudly forward under the leadership of their commander, the formidable Rustum.

Then as he looked at the fearful hostile army, Rustum spoke thus to Fazal and other captains :—

"Look at this hostile army, with its fluttering banner, how well-equipped, spirited, courageous, and well-marshalled it is.

"There are, indeed, in it many brave men, equal to Balarama in splendour, and counterparts, as it were, of Shivaji, of incomparable power. . . . . .

"Therefore let our captains also arrange their respective men properly on all sides and take post in the van of the battle.

"I shall guard the centre ; let brave Fazal with his men guard the left side.

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(1) Most of these places are in the Satara district.

(2) Because the fort was taken at night. *Cf.* entry in Jedhe Chronology, under year 1581.

"Malik Itbar and Sadat will be at the other side of the army.

"The victorious Fatekhan, son of Azizkhan, and also Mullahay will command the rear.

"And let Santaji Ghorpade, Sarjerao Ghatge and other well-equipped men protect the army from all sides."

Thus addressed, they all took up their respective positions, and guarded the army with diligence.

At that very time Shivaji, too, marshalling his army, spoke suitably to the warriors about him :—

"Let Netaji, with his four-fold[1] army, attack Fazal, and Wagh, destroyer of the enemy, Mullahay.

"Let Ingle advance against Malik Itbar, and let proud Mahadik fight against Fatekhan.

"Let Sidhoji Pawar face Sadat; Godaji shall go against Ghatge and Ghorpade.

"I myself shall in battle destroy Rustum, the brave commander of the Muhammadan army, who is in the van.

"Let Kharate and Pandhre attack the right flank and Hilal and Jadhav the left flank."

When Shivaji had spoken thus, his brave warriors gave out a loud war-cry, simultaneously with the beating of the drums.

[*Ib.* XXIV 22-53]

[A description of the battle. Rustum Zeman and Fazal Khan are routed and several elephants captured].

[*Cf.* the entry in Jedhe Chronology, under year 1581.]

(3) Further conquests; Siege of Panhala (March 1660)

After defeating Rustum and others, and spreading his fair fame everywhere, Shivaji immediately sent a large army under his Commander-in-Chief in order to subjugate the territory of Alishah, and himself went once more to look after Panhala.

The Commander-in-chief Netaji, too, as directed by Shivaji, quickly subjugated Adilshah's territory.

Kavthe, Borgaon, Malgaon, Kundal, Gohgaon, Sattikir, Ed, Miraj, Gokak, Dudhwad, Murbad, Dharwar the great fortress, Kshudravandyapur, Ságáv, Mayil, Pargaon, Sangli, Kanad, Kurundwad, Kagal, Hebal, Hanuvalli, Húnwád, Raibag, Hukeri, Kandgaon, Haridra, Ghunika, Kini, Araga, Telsang, Kerur, Ambupa, Kamlapur Athni, Tikote,—these and other big cities and towns were taken by Netaji, who was well skilled in such business, and made subject to himself.

Thus, the Adilshah's country had been devastated; a great part of his army had been scattered; Panhala and other forts had fallen into

(1) *i.e.*, with horses, elephants, chariots, and foot-soldiers, the four *Angas* or parts of an army, according to Sanskrit writers.

the hands of the enemy ; the Moghuls, though asked to come immediately, were delaying ; so, overwhelmed by a battalion of disasters, sorrowing day by day, Ali sent for Siddi Johar, master of Karnool, and despatched him at once to punish Shivaji.

Then that powerful man, accompanied by many thousands of horsemen of his own community, and numerous mountain-like elephants, and strong Karnatak infantry, came to Panhala, which was defended by Shivaji.

Both Rustum and Fazal, previously defeated, together with Sadat, of the same quality and character as themselves, also joined Johar with their armies at the command of Adilshah—Johar who had marched ahead with speed.

By Adilshah's order, too, Baji Ghorpade, Pid Nayak of the Karnatak, the unconquerable Bhayikhan, son of Valikhan, Siddi Masood, and others joined Johar in order to capture Panhala.

[Panhala is besieged on all sides.]

High up in the fort was Shivaji ; down below was Johar ; still there was a war between them which resembled the war of the Mahabharata.

For many months the Siddi fought with Shivaji ; but without success, being repulsed every time.

[*Ib.* XXV 1-25]

[A Moghul army under Shaista Khan invades Poona district and takes Chakan.—*Ib.* 29-65. See below, pp. 88-9.]

(4) Shivaji's escape from Panhala to Vishalgad (July 1660)

[Chapter XXVI of the Shiva-Bharat tells us that Netaji Palkar and Siddi Hilal tried to raise the siege of Panhala, but were repulsed ; and that the goddess Bhavani then appeared to Shivaji in a dream, and told him to leave Panhala, promising that by her power (*Māyā*) Johar should be stupefied while Shivaji issued from the fort. The Bijapur historian's explanation that there was a secret understanding between Siddi Johar and Shivaji appears more probable. On the other hand when the Shiva-Bharat tells us that there was an interval between Shivaji's escape from the fort and the surrender of the fort it is supported by the Jedhe Chronology (see under year 1582).]

While that devout chief [Shivaji] was once asleep in his comfortable mansion there [at Panhala] he saw in a dream the goddess Tulja, the giver of boons.

As the great chief bowed before her, the mighty Mistress of the World spake to him thus :—

" My son, the Moghuls have come and conquered the town of Chakan over there ; you should therefore, not stay here but start from here anyhow.

" Go immediately to Rajgad and guard your territory; your aged mother has been pining there for you.

" You should go from here with only a few men; your warriors, remaining in the fort, will fight against Johar.

" And I by my power shall stupefy Johar, and shall spread through the world the reputation of your prowess.

" The days of this wicked man have been numbered; he will not live long. Death is about to overcome him in another manner."

Having told him this, the goddess vanished forthwith. He too, awoke and bowed to her again and again.

Then he made ready to issue forth from the fort of Panhala with his own might, ... and, wishing to keep there a sufficient army, he, in his own mind, fixed upon a Brahmin by name Tryambak Bhaskar, whose capacity was well-known everywhere, and who was a man of courage; and spoke to him thus :—

" See, we, powerful and constantly ready with our weapons, have yet passed all these months since Chaitra, fighting day and night.

" And this fifth month, Shravana, has now arrived. ....

" I think it is impossible for us at present to conquer this powerful Siddi even with great armies.

" The district of Poona having been overrun by the Moghuls, I ought not to continue to stay here for a long time to put down Siddi Johar.

" That energetic army, bearing the Moghul banner, will not, I imagine, be defeated by anyone but myself.

" I therefore start at once, with a view to destroy the Moghuls; let this fort, impregnable to the enemy, be in your charge." ......

Having said so, and kept that brave man in charge of that fort, Shivaji set forth in the first watch of the night. ....

Though that chieftain was passing within a short distance from themselves, the enemy knew it not, being stupefied by the goddess.....

Then that ornament of the world [Shivaji] ascended his fort of Vishalgad, which possessed beautiful apartments, and having completed his journey, made a grateful halt there with a view to resting his troops.

[*Ib.* XXVI 42-78]

(5) Exploit of Baji Prabhu

(*i*) Then, while they were wending their way on foot to Vishalgad, the day broke while yet the fort was some eight miles off. Just then the whole army of the enemy came on them from behind; they had started immediately at night, and lighting their way with flares, got on Shivaji's track. Then Baji Prabhu, Deshkulkarni of Hirdas Maval, an excellent swordsman, made this proposal to Shivaji : " You should march on to the fort with half the men, and fire a gun immediately on arrival. I shall hold this gorge with the remaining half of the Mavlas until then. I shall

not allow the enemy to pursue you till noon. The Saheb should make his escape ; I shall die on the Saheb's business ; you must support my children after me." With these words Baji Prabhu stopped and sent Shivaji on his way. Just then the enemy's army, with Fazalkhan and Sarjakhan and many other Sardars, came up to the gorge and began to fight. Twenty thousand(1) Mavlas and Baji Prabhu fought stubbornly ; for three or four hours the army was held back at the gorge. Then Shivaji, having reached the fort, fired two or three shots from a big gun. Then Baji Prabhu said, " Now it does not matter even if I lose my life." Then the Kanarese foot-soldiers in the enemy's army pressed forward ; they defeated the Mavlas, and forced them out of the gorge. The latter began to run away. But Baji Prabhu stood firm, and fought hard. He received several serious wounds and fell. Then of the Mavlas some were killed and some warily fled into the hills. The army came to the fort and remained there for about three hours. But there was no water there ; and thinking that it was difficult Konkan country, that it was impossible thereafter to capture Shivaji, and that if they remained there or at Panhala it was likely that he would attack and destroy them ;— they raised the siege and returned with the whole army to Bijapur.

[91-Kalmi Bakhar, para. 38]

(*ii*) Siddi Johar came to Panhala and besieged it. Shivaji descended from the fort and went towards Khelna. Siddi Johar came in pursuit. Then Shivaji left Bandal's men and Baji Prabhu at the pass of Gajapur, and went to Khelna. Baji Prabhu and the men fought bravely. Baji Prabhu and some men were killed. They prevented the enemy from ascending the pass. Siddi Johar fell back.

[Jedhe Karina, Shiva-Chaitra-Pradip, p.46]

[Hearing of Shivaji 's escape, Siddi Johar sends Masood to pursue him and invest Vishalgad. But Masood is repulsed, and Shivaji leaves Vishalgad for Rajgad—Shiva-Bharat, Ch. XXVII.]

(6) Surrender of Panhala (September 1660) ; End of Siddi Johar

The wise ones asked :—

When Shivaji, the ornament of the Bhonsle family, went to Rajgad, what happened to Panhala ? Tell us that, O wise one.

Kavindra said :—

" Shaista Khan himself is here, Johar there ; how shall we be able to fight in both places ?

" So make over the fort of Panhala to Adilshah, and come here yourself. There is other work here.

" We shall certainly take a substitute for that fort from Alishah in a moment ; what I say will not turn out otherwise."

Thus instructed by Shivaji through a messenger, Tryambak Bhaskar thought within his own mind, and though determined to fight on himself

(1) This seems to be a mistake. Chitnis (p. 139) mentions 5,000.

he obeyed the master's order, and, as became a subordinate, surrendered the fort to Alishah.

Then he saw Johar, and made inquiries after his health ; the latter received him with honour, with a view to winning the friendship of Shivaji.

Then, with the numerous army which had been assisting him, he came and saw his master and made obeisance.

The wise ones asked :—

" The goddess had come and said to the wise Shivaji, when he was at the fort of Panhala : 'Do not kill Johar ; listen to me ; he will be destroyed in an altogether different manner.'

So tell us in what manner he met his death, O Kavindra ; for you are a well-versed man.......... "

Kavindra said :—

When the great Shivaji had, at the direction of the goddess, and in order to defeat in person the Moghul army, gone forth, after breaking at once the powerful Siddi line ; and when the fort of Panhala had luckily come into Adilshah's hands, that foolish, irascible monarch took it amiss and got angry with Johar himself for a long time.

" You, greedy wretch, took a large bribe from him, and when he set out, connived at him, even though you knew of it.

" When you had besieged him, he could not get out, I think, without your connivance.

" So come and hand over the money which Shivaji gave you ; else you will meet your death at my own hands."

A letter to this effect was sent to Johar by Adilshah ; still that powerful Siddi was not afraid of him.

When he could not fight with Adilshah, he at once took refuge in Karnul, which was as inaccessible as a stronghold.

Then Adilshah somehow contrived to have poison administered to Johar with wine, without his knowing it.

How exceedingly foolish was Adilshah ! He did an injury to Johar who had done good to himself.

If the Bhonsle chief, unconquerable, and moving like a god, escaped from the fort after stupefying the large besieging army of the enemy through the grace of the Goddess, Johar, we think, was not at fault.

[Shiva-Bharat XXVIII 1-24]

(7) Shaista Khan

The wise ones asked :—

The troops of the Emperor of Delhi, proud of their fighting capacity, whom Ali through a messenger begged to come immediately,—how numerous were they, who was their commander, where and by what route

did they come and what did they do ; and what did Shivaji do to oppose them ?—Tell us all that, O wise Paramanand.

Kavindra said :—

When, seeing that Shivaji was growing stronger and himself weaker, Adilshah, in need of an ally, begged urgently for an army, the Emperor of Delhi, victor in hundreds of battles, and ever ready to succour suppliants, ordered his army of Daulatabad..... commanded by his uncle, the powerful Shaista Khan, to march at once.

Then a great many captains, obedient to command, equipped themselves and set forth under the leadership of Shaista Khan.

The Pathan Shamaskhan ; Namdar, son of Jafarkhan ; so also Giasudikhan ; Munim Hasan ; Sultan Mirza ; Manachehar ; also these three Uzbegs, *viz.*, Turuktaz, Kubahat, and Haudkhan ; the two Pathans, Imam Birudikhan and Lodikhan ; the two Dilawar Maulads ; also Abdul Beg ; Khoja Bhangad ; Johar ; Khoja Sultan ; Siddi Fateh ; Fatehjang ; Kartalab ; Gazikhan and others ; Bhavasimha, son of Shatrushalya, and his kinsmen Kishorsimha and Shamasimha ; Raja Giridhar, Manohar, (1) Pradyumna, Aniruddha, Purushottam, and Govardhan—these six Kshatriyas of the Gauda family ; Rajasimha, son of Arjuna and grandson of Gauda Vitthaladas (1) ; Biramdeo, Ramasimha, and Rayasimha, these three from the Sirshada [Sisodia] family ; Amarasimha, of the Chandravat family (2) ; Arindama, the general of the king of Chandrapur ; Dwarkaji, Jivaji, Parsoji, Balaji, Tryambaji, son of Sharifji,—all Bhonsles ; Surji Gaikwad ; Yesoji ; Dinkarrao Kankde; Tryambak, Anant, and Dattaji,—all three from the Khandagle family ; Dattaji and Rustumji Jadhav ; Rambhaji Pawar, son of Sarvaji ; the wife of Udayaram and mother of Jagjivan, known as Raja Vyaghri [Raibagin], together with her kinsmen, Krishnaraja, Prachanda and others ; Sarjerao Ghatge ; Kamalaji Gadhe ; Jaswantrao and Kamalaji Kokate ; —all these great soldiers, accompanied by their respective contingents, joined the commander Shaistakhan by order of the Emperor......

Then that resolute Commander-in-chief Shaistakhan, surrounded by 77,000 horse,......and also by excellent Baksar infantry marching in front, equipped with various instruments of war, reached the river Bhima, the boundary of the enemy's country.

The sudden arrival of this force, resembling the agitated sea, took by surprise the territory round Chakan.

The Moghuls in anger laid siege to that town of Chakan ; while Shivaji Maharaj was away at Panhala.

And these skilful soldiers fought for many days with Shivaji's men in Sangramagad.(3)

[*Ib.* XXV 29-65]

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(1) "Manohar Das Gaur, nephew of Raja Bithaldas of Shah Jahan's time" is referred to in Sarkar—Shivaji p. 189.

(2) An Amar Singh Chandawat is mentioned in connection with Jai Singh's expedition of 1665. (Sarkar—Shivaji p. 128.)

(3) Another name for the fort of Chakan.

Just when Shivaji, having by his might defeated the besieging Siddis, returned to Shiva-pattan, the powerful Moghul forces, after a wonderful struggle, captured Sangramagad, which had put up a good fight.

[*Ib.* XXVIII 27-28]

(8) Battle of Umbarkhind (December 1660)

[According to the Shiva-Bharat, after Shivaji's return to Rajgad from Vishalgad and the capture of Chakan by Shaistakhan, Shivaji held a council, at which he declared his intention of collecting booty, for without money an army could not be maintained, and without a sufficient army, the enemy could not be defeated. His counsellors, while approving of this idea, pointed to an immediate danger, *viz.*, that Shaistakhan, having occupied Poona, was likely next to send an army to subjugate the Konkan. They suggested that steps should be taken to prevent this. Accordingly, while the Moghul army under Kartalabkhan was descending the Sahyadri by a ghat near Lohgad, it was caught by Shivaji in a narrow gorge called Umbarkhind. Included in Kartalabkhan's army was the Raibagin, who persuaded the Khan to surrender. Shivaji allowed the Moghul army to retire on payment of a ransom.

This battle of Umbarkhind is mentioned in the Jedhe Chronology at the proper place under year 1582. Sabhasad and Chitnis also mention a battle of Umbarkhind and the Raibagin in connection with it, but they misplace it in 1670 after the second sack of Surat].

Shivaji said :—

"While I was away, engaged in other business, Chakan and Sangrama-durga have gone into enemy hands. ......

"No man can without assistance defeat a hostile army.

"Therefore a wise king should always be careful to maintain an army sufficient to defeat an enemy.

"But without a great deal of money even a great king cannot maintain an army of that kind. ....

"Therefore by my prowess I shall extract money from this Earth, as Pṛthu is said to have milked it—the money on which the whole world depends."

When he said this in council, his counsellors thus respectfully addressed that wise king :—

"You are quite right in saying that money is power. To deny that would be captious indeed.

"..... But now, the general, the uncle of the Emperor, has, after his capture of Sangramagad, proudly and fearlessly advanced and occupied Poona. Hearing that you are at Shivapattan, he will, with fear in mind, probably send his army by the same route to descend the Sahyadri.

"You should first see that this attacking army does not get down the Sahyadri, and then look to all other things."

When that wise, virtuous man, heard these appropriate words of his counsellors, he approved. . . . .

Shaistakhan summoned an efficient Muhammadan named Kartalab, and when he appeared before himself, said to him confidentially :—

"The powerful Jaswant, of the Ajabad family, is your father ; You, too, have been passing all your life in fighting.

"Recently you, with your own strength, defeated the powerful Galib, and gave Prachandapur to me.

"You too know how that master of Sahyadri [Shivaji], indomitable in battle, does most difficult things.

"That unconquerable lord of Sahyadri, filled with pride, will not be conquered by us unless we occupy Sahyadri.

"It is my order, therefore, that you, with your army, immediately set about descending Sahyadri in force. . . . . . You should take Chaul, Kalyan, Bhivandi, Panvel, and Nagothna.

"The powerful and well-armed Kachchhapas and Chavans ; also Amarasimha and Mitrasen with his kinsmen ; Sarjerao Gadhe, the indomitable Raibagin, Jaswantrao Kokate, and the powerful Jadhav ;—these great soldiers with their contingents will go with you. . . . . . "

Immediately he received this order from the General, that famous warrior started with his brave men.

And he began fearlessly to descend the Sahyadri along a path which passes in a north-to-south direction from Lohgad.

Going along that footpath, narrow like a gun, the army was altogether concealed from sight every now and then. . . . . .

Alas! The proud Kartalab with his army did not at all see the enemy in time ; he saw only the forest.

When he entered that wild forest, full of the enemy, but looking lonely, Mitrasena and others still kept at his side.

Staying in that deep forest, where no wind blew, that Muhammadan did not think of the means of his safety.

The wise ones asked :—

. . . . . "While that enemy was descending the Sahyadri against an unfavourable wind, why did not Shivaji oppose him in the very beginning ? . . . . . "

Kavindra replied :—

If Shivaji had opposed the enemy in the very beginning, the latter would not have fallen with his whole army into that ocean of a forest.

It was because he thought so that Shivaji, though well able to do so, did not there oppose the Khan, proud of his prowess.

But when the enemy had advanced further and yet further down the Sahyadri, then Shivaji attacked and caught him midway.

Under instructions given previously by that valiant soldier [Shivaji], his captains of infantry had come and stationed themselves at different places in that forest on both sides of the path ; still the Imperial troops knew nothing about them, even though they were near themselves

Now Kartalab came to a bye-path inside a thickly wooded place called Umbarkhind.

Then the loud sound of suddenly beating war-drums announced to the enemy soldiers that Shivaji had come near.

Hearing that sound of Shivaji's war-drums, Kartalab determined to fight like a brave man.

[The Moghul army attempts resistance, but in vain.]

[Shiva-Bharat XXVIII 30-92]

Now the midday sun had begun to add its heat to the distress caused by Shivaji's prowess, and the whole army was suffering and losing heart in that forest, where no water was to be had, where there was no breeze, and which was completely dominated by the enemy. Seeing this the proud Raibagin said to Kartalab :—

"Having the army consigned to your care, you behaved wrongly in thoughtlessly entering this forest, the lair of that lion, Shivaji.

". . . . . . . The enemy wants to take you alive and bear you away. You, like a blind man, have been caught in this forest and still wish to fight.

"A man should show his prowess only if there is a possibility of success; otherwise the same becomes rashness, and brings on ridicule.

"So now surrender immediately to that Chief [Shivaji], and save yourself and the army from the noose of Death."

Thus advised by the Raibagin, that brave, adventurous Mussalman desisted from fighting.

And he humbly sent a messenger to Shivaji.

[*Ib.* XXIX 1-14]

When that messenger brought an assurance of safety from him, Kartalab sent a tribute to Shivaji.

When Mitrasen and other chiefs, who were still fighting, received assurances, they too immediately sent their belongings to Shivaji.

[*Ib.* 42-43]

(9) Conquest of Mid-Konkan (January—April 1661)

[After the battle of Umbarkhind, Shivaji detached Netaji against the Moghuls, and himself advanced against the Middle Konkan. He conquered Dabhol, Sangameshwar, Deorukh, Rajapur, Pali, and Shringarpur,—practically the whole of the present Ratnagiri district, with the exception of the extreme South. The description of this expedition in the Shiva-Bharat shows intimate knowledge of the country; *e.g.*, trees more especially found in the Konkan are mentioned in XXIX 86; in XXX 24 and 25 small towns in the Ratnagiri and Rajapur Talukas are mentioned by name as having submitted to Shivaji. Remarkable, too, is the description of the European merchants of Rajapur as "exceedingly powerful because of their excellence in the accurate firing of guns; outdoing Kubera in wealth; possessing the magic art of Maya; unconquerable because faring on the high seas" etc. That certain statements of the Shiva-Bharat in this connection are confirmed by the Dagh Register and English records, has been already mentioned (above p. 3). The date of the conquest of Shringarpur indicated in the

Shiva-Bharat is confirmed also by a contemporary letter of Shivaji from which an extract is given below (No. *ii*)].

. . .

(*i*) Gradually advancing, he saw towns, and villages, and forts, and forests given up by the enemy, and rejoiced at it.

Then going to Dabhol, and making his obeisance to Dalbhyeshwar,(1) he took immediate possession of that very district in the first instance.

. . . Then the brave Jaswant, lord of Pallviana, remembering that he had formerly helped Johar, and terrified at the near approach of Shivaji, that destroyer of the wicked, at once took refuge with the chief of Shringarpur.

Suryarao, the valiant lord of Prabhavali, too, gave shelter to him, who was afraid of Shivaji, and who had committed the same delinquency as Suryarao himself.

Shivaji, however, did not think that either Suryarao or Jaswant had behaved wrongly therein; for they were not their own masters.

Then, after he had stationed at Dabhol a suitable officer and also two thousand men ready for battle, he advanced and came up to Chiplun in three or four days, giving assurances of safety to suppliant men.

There he saw the god Parashuram, the giver of boons, famous through the world, the ever-living . . .

. . . . . There in that holy place of Parashuram that gracious and munificent man readily made gifts and delighted the crowd of Brahmins.

Then that saintly king visited Sangameshwar,—so called from the presence of the god Sangameshwar, and full of Brahmins and shrines of gods,—which had just been relinquished by the Mussalman authorities, and passed into his own hands; after that, he passed on to Devrukh.

Then by his order, the son of Nilkanthrao, a Brahmin, accompanied by the great soldier Tanaji Malusre, who had made his name in many battles, came to Sangameshwar, which was disturbed by the approach of the enemy.

Shivaji then sent the following message, through a confidential messenger, to the chief of Prabhavali:—"An army of mine remains at Sangameshwar for the protection of this district; you should, from Shringarpur, look well after it until I return; avoid all dissension and do what I tell you."

Then after quickly bringing that district under his rule, ... this great king [Shivaji] conquered Rajapur, and became illustrious.

[*Ib.* XXIX 66-88]

Then various Firangis, worse than Mussalmans, and pursuing evil courses, but exceedingly powerful because of their excellence in the accurate firing of guns; expert in fighting from behind ramparts; outdoing Kubera(2) in riches; possessing the magic art of Maya(3); and unconquerable because faring on the high seas;—also, the Malabaris,

(1) A local god. (2) God of wealth in Hindu Mythology.
(3) Architect of the Asuras in Hindu Mythology.

expert sailors, with bare bodies;—and many sea-traders from distant continents; and discontented feudatories;—all these, like infuriated elephants, were, under his instructions, forcibly brought by his soldiers, and made to pay various tribute.

The wealth which these different close-fisted Mlechchas had long watched over in Rajapur, he immediately took into his own hands.

That destroyer of the wicked made many diggers dig the ground, underneath which were vessels full of hidden gold.

. . . . Satavli, Saundal, Harcheri, Nevre, Nandivde, Kotavde, Kelavli, Kasheli, Pavas, Dhamanse, Belavde, and Kharepatan,—these and many other towns paid him tribute.

Having thus conquered various territories, and taken various goods, that valiant man made ready to return to his own country.

The wise ones asked :—

"The Mussalman army was routed and Dabhol conquered; so also the town of Chiplun was seized; Sangameshwar was taken without any difficulty, and lo! the whole of Rajapur was dug down to the nether regions; all treasure was seized and citizens arrested; and the sea was forced to become a tributary. When the Adilshah knew that his territory was thus harassed by Shivaji through hatred, what remedy did he adopt?"

Kavindra replied :—

Distressed in mind Adilshah sent the following order to Suryarao, the chief of Shringarpur :—

"When that enemy of mine was going towards Rajapur, you failed to oppose him on the difficult forest track!

"Let that pass. Do you oppose him now at least, when that arrogant enemy of mine has returned and is in your neighbourhood."

. . . . . Then that proud, valiant chief determined, by order of Adilshah, to oppose Shivaji, as an elephant opposes a lion.

He with his men immediately besieged the army which Shivaji, well-skilled in strategy, had stationed in Sangameshwar. . . . .

. . . . Then the ill-fated Pilaji, son of Nilkanthrao, was terrified, and, to give the victory to the lord of Prabhavali, preferred flight to fighting.

While he, throwing away the sword in his hand, took to flight, trembling, breathing hard, Malusre at once went forward in person a few steps, and, taking him by the hand, poured scorn on him.

Malusre said :—

"I am your helpmate in the battle; and you, alas! have been leaving your people and taking to flight! Where have those former boasts of yours gone, O captain?

"You, who have been cherished and given a high position and granted all your desires by Shivaji,— you, the commander, leave your men and take to flight? Are you not ashamed?"

With these words, he tied that terrified man to a stone with ropes, and kept him securely near himself, and moved about, showing his valour to his brave men at each step.

[*Ib.* XXX 1-45]

[Suryarao's men are defeated by Tanaji.]

Then Malusre went forward with his men and saw his master Shivaji, who had quickly returned from Rajapur.

Shivaji received him and his men. . . . with great honour.

Then learning of that impudence of Suryarao, the powerful Shivaji got very angry, but concealed his anger just then.

He immediately despatched a messenger, who came to the lord of Prabhavali, and spoke thus :—

"You have several times given help to Adilshah and wronged Shivaji. And now you with your men made a night attack on Shivaji's army in Sangameshwar. How is this misconduct of yours, O lord of Prabhavali, to be put up with by the all-conquering son of Shahaji ?

"This has made him very angry ; still, by your good luck, he has been merciful to you, and has sent an order for you ; I shall recount it ; listen.

'I have made ready to seize at once the principality of the evil-minded lord of Pallivana, who did me a wrong, and being afraid of me, fled and took shelter with you . . . .

'Now, you need have no fear of me ; but do come to Pali, where I shall give you an assurance of safety.

'If through haughtiness you fail to come, his state will also be yours ; there is no one at present who will protect you from my anger.' "

Hearing this message of Shivaji from the messenger, the chief of Shringarpur said to him " Go ahead, I follow. "

Then the messenger came to the neighbourhood of Pallivana and delivered to Shivaji in private the reply of Suryarao.

Then Shivaji occupied that district of Pallivana, and distributed favours and punishments respectively to such as deserved them.

. . . . . . Now, seeing a hill, by name Chiradurga, very suitable for the protection of that countryside, that energetic man got artizans to surround it at the top with a good, high wall.

And, to indicate that it was an ornament (*mandana*) to that district, Shivaji called that fort by the name of Mandangad.

Then the lord of forts [Shivaji] left in that inaccessible hill-fort a commander who was watchful in keeping guard, and was not to be easily overpowered, ... and set out to conquer the chief of Shringarpur.

[The Raja of Shringarpur had formerly commended himself to Shivaji and rendered help several times ; but latterly he had not kept faithful to his relation with Shivaji, and had assisted Shivaji's enemies. Now, on hearing of Shivaji's advance, he fled from Shringarpur.]

[*Ib.* XXXI]

Then Shivaji by his prowess took the whole territory of Prabhavali into his own hands, and restored the old ways of government.

As governor of the province of Prabhavali he appointed the wise and well-known Tryambak Bhaskar, proficient in a sharp fight.

. . . . . . And for the protection of the town he looked about and fixed on a well-known fort in the neighbourhood, giving it the name of Pratitgad.

[*Ib.* XXXII 1-4]

[It was the hot season when Shivaji took Shringarpur.]

[*Ib.* XXXII 5-9]

(*ii*) From—Shivaji Raje

To—Pilaji Nilkanthrao, Subhedar, district Prabhavali.

Suhur year 1062([1]). Last year I personally led an expedition into the Talkonkan in order to subjugate it. The territory was subjugated. At that time Surve of Shringarpur and the Padshahi officers in the Konkan turned against me. They were punished and routed. Assurances were given by the government to the watandars and rayats, etc.

[Rajwade XXI, pp. 4-5]

(10) Night Attack on Shaistakhan (5th April, 1663)

Shivaji was encouraged when he learnt that the Goddess was pleased with him. He selected some excellent swordsmen from among his cavalry and the Mavlas and the men about his own person. A thousand select men were taken out. From the rest of the army some thousand or two thousand horsemen were selected one by one. Definite news was brought that Shaistakhan had come to Poona. Then Shivaji started from Rajgad, came down, and went forward with the select men and cavalry. Babaji Bapuji and Chimnaji Bapuji, Deshkulkarnis of the division of Khed, both very able and brave men, were favourites with Shivaji. These two brothers were asked to accompany him. The men were divided into two parties, which were placed under Netaji Palkar and Moropant Peshwa respectively. Netaji Palkar had one party, including the *paga* ([2]); the *Shilledars* and the Mavla foot-soldiers formed the other party, under the Peshwa. These two parties were stationed on either side of Shaistakhan's camp, at the distance of a mile from it. Shivaji himself took his shield and sword, got ready, and, taking a thousand dismounted men with himself, went forward towards the Nabob's camp. Babaji Bapuji and Chimnaji Bapuji Khedkar went in front. Behind them came all the others and Shivaji. Numerous was the Moghul army; from place to place in the camp inquiries were made of Shivaji: "Whose men are you? Who are you? Where had you gone?" Babaji Bapuji and Chimnaji Bapuji replied, as they went on, "We are men from the camp; we had gone for guard duty." By this time it was midnight. They came up to the Nabob's tent. A thousand men were got together. They came to the tent and stood on two sides of it. Selecting two hundred men from among them Shivaji himself in person ripped open the curtain with a dagger and went in, telling Chimnaji Bapuji [to follow him.] He found tents within tents, seven times on, but he cut through all of them and went in. The men on guard were asleep. They were not allowed to know anything. At last Shivaji himself reached the Nabob's tent. There were seven

([1]) 24th May 1661—23rd May 1662.

([2]) Men supplied with a horse by Government; the Shilledars found horses for themselves.

tents, one inside another, and female attendants in them. This crowd of women came to know that the enemy had entered the tent. The Nabob also learnt of it, and taking fright, he put out the candles and lights and hid himself among the women. Shivaji never raised his hand against women. Two ghatikas passed in this way. Then, seeing an opportunity, the Nabob stepped aside from among the women, and was about to put his hand to his sword. Shivaji marked it and dealt a blow with his sword. Three of the Khan's fingers were cut off. There was then a great uproar. Learning that the enemy had come, the soldiers got prepared on all four sides. Then Shivaji prepared to get out. The men on guard and the men of the army were running here and there, asking 'Where is the enemy?' Shivaji also ran with them asking 'Where is the enemy?' and got out! Then he joined his men under the Sarnobat and the Peshwa and marched along with them. The whole of the enemy's army got ready and began to make a search in the camp itself. The invaders could not be traced. So they took the direct route and reached their own place.

[Sabhasad, pp. 32-34]

(11) War with the Siddi of Janjira, and conquest of South Konkan

[We have no direct evidence to determine the date when Shivaji first came into conflict with the Siddi of Janjira, but it must have been fairly early. We learn from Portuguese records that Shivaji had built a navy as early as 1659(1), and as Sabhasad and Chitnis tell us that Shivaji built a navy after his encounter with the Siddi, Grant Duff's date of the first encounter between Shivaji and the Siddi—*viz.*, 1658—may be taken to be correct(2). On the other hand the conquest of South Konkan must be assigned to 1663 and 1664, and not to 1662, as Grant Duff did. The Jedhe Chronology gives 1664 as the date of the defeat of Khawaskhan and Baji Ghorpade.]

The Siddi of Janjira had established posts at Tala, and secretly made trouble at different places; to punish him, therefore, Shivaji sent Bajirao Pasalkar Deshmukh, of Musekhore, with some men. He went and threatened Rajpuri. Then Kai Sawant, who was on the side of the Siddi, advanced against him. A battle was fought. The leaders on each side —Bajirao Deshmukh and Kai Sawant, fell on the field. Thereupon Shivaji sent Raghunath Ballal Sabnis with more men. He looted the whole territory of the Siddi, and devastated it. Then he fought with the Siddi's men who came against him and defeated them. Thereupon the Siddi of Janjira made terms, that he should no longer disturb the territory and ports which Shivaji had taken, and that on the other hand Shivaji should not disturb the territory which remained with the Siddi. Having arranged these terms, Raghunathpant returned, bringing some treasure with himself.

(1) Professor Pisurlekar's article in Vividha-Jnana-Vistar, 1926, p. 262.

(2) According to Shiva-Bharat XVII 15 (above p. 66) it would be earlier still, *i.e.*, about 1656. And according to one Chronology (Shiva-Charitra-Pradip, p. 50) 'Raghunathpant went to Rajpuri, 31st July 1657.'

The Siddi followed the terms for some time. But then he began to make trouble again, so Shivaji sent Venkajipant with men and troops. He fought with the Siddi's men who came against him, harassed his territory, punished him, and kept him in his proper place. Finding hills at different places in that neighbourhood, he built forts on them. He built a fort at Danda-Rajpuri. By building forts in this way, he secured that the Siddi should not create any trouble or practise any treachery in his own territory. He kept some 5,000 to 7,000 men constantly at different places in these parts and reduced the Siddi to impotence. "Janjira is a sea-girt fortress, impregnable, difficult to be forced to surrender; I must have it, I must create sea-power";—with this set purpose, and with the view of creating a navy, he got together some ships. And he had new ones built of the following types :—Gurab, Tarande, Galbat, Mubar, Sibad, Pagar, Machva, and big Tirkati and Pal. Of these types he had some four or five hundred built. For this he spent about five or ten lakhs of rupees. To command the fleet he appointed Darya Sagar and Mainak Bhandari as Subhedars, and gave them guns and other equipment, and sea-faring and fighting men and kolis(1) and sailors. They raided the sea and made themselves feared by the Siddi of Janjira. Inspiring awe in the minds of the Europeans of the sea, they plundered the cargoes of merchantmen, and collecting all kinds of goods of the sea, brought it to the Maharaj. Thus they defrayed the expenses of the navy, which were heavy. They began to loot various sea-coast towns, and, finding out suitable islands, to build forts in them. Thus sea-power was established. And untold wealth, too, began to be accumulated.

The district of Rajapur was under the Maharaj. The Sawant marched with it. Shivaji thought of chastising the latter and annexing his territory. Thereupon Khem Sawant and Lakham Sawant, Desais of the district of Kudal, who had been holding a *mansab* from the Government of Bijapur, made an application to the Padshah: "In the matter of punishing Shivaji, give the main charge of it to us, with some troops to help, so that we shall punish him and free the Konkan". The offer was agreed to, and Khawaskhan sent with 10,000 men. With him was given Baji Ghorpade also. The Maharaj had a grudge against Baji Ghorpade in-as-much as he had seized Shahaji Maharaj by treachery. Moreover, Shahaji Maharaj also had written to him thus: "You know what good turn Ghorpade has done me. You, my son, have earned glory; you should repay Baji Ghorpade some time or other". Shivaji had laid this to his heart. Learning now that the main charge had been taken by Sawant, that Baji Ghorpade had been instructed to assist him, and that Khawaskhan was descending the *ghat*, the Maharaj made ready his troops, and horse, and artillery, came to Panhala, and advanced with his men. Meanwhile Baji Ghorpade had come home with some men. Shivaji learnt this, and advanced towards Mudhol. To punish Baji Ghorpade before any one else, he besieged the place and plundered the

(1) Various tribes, differing in character and origin, which inhabit Gujarat, the northern parts of the Deccan, and Konkan, and parts of Rajputana and Central India. (Edwardes's note to Grant Duff i 7).

surrounding country. When Ghorpade advanced, Shivaji accepted battle. The Marathas of Ghorpade fought with great valour. Baji Ghorpade fell on the field. Shivaji killed all who were captured. The fort was taken and the town looted. Thus Ghorpade and his men who had come by themselves were punished. Khawaskhan received this news. Shivaji immediately advanced against him. But learning that Baji Ghorpade had been killed, his army destroyed, and the district of Mudhol plundered, and that Shivaji had superior equipment, Khawaskhan had not the courage to descend the ghat and come to the Konkan. Instead, he turned back, and without meeting Shivaji returned to Bijapur.(1)

Then the Maharaj, too, advanced against the territory of the Sawant. He went to the district of Kudal and began to harass it. The Sawant was not strong enough to meet this attack. Knowing this, he left Kudal, and went into Portuguese territory. Shivaji occupied the territory and established his posts in it. The fort of Phonda resisted. Bahlolkhan was sent from Bijapur for its relief. Shivaji prepared to raise the siege in order to meet Bahlolkhan. As the siege was being raised, the besieged came in numbers on the ramparts to see the besieging army leave. Just then a mine burst, and many of the besieged were killed. Shivaji then led an assault, and the fort was taken.

The Sawants went into Portuguese territory, but the Portuguese could not summon courage enough to give them shelter in their territory, as they were afraid of Shivaji's prowess. Knowing this, the Sawants sent an able man, Pitambar Shenvi, as envoy to Shivaji. "We are Sawants, of the same blood as the Bhonsles; we, therefore, belong to you. We have resolved to be ever loyal to you, our master. Be gracious, therefore." Such was the burden of their message. Thereon a promise of protection was given to them, and they were invited for an interview. It was settled that they should continue to enjoy the Deshmukhi of District Wadi, their *watan*, do service and pay tribute to Shivaji, and go on peacefully. Thus they were firmly established. They had two good brave Sardars under them,—Tan Sawant and Ram Dalvi. These were praised, and taken into service. Thus the Sawants were punished and the Maharaj was victorious. Seeing this, the Portuguese also sent an envoy. They offered to give annually four or five newly prepared cannons and to present jewellery and Portuguese over-sea goods, provided Shivaji gave an assurance of safety to their ships. Their envoy brought dresses and jewellery, and various articles like mirrors and lamps, and gave them as presents. Thereupon the assurance was given and the agreement made. In this way the Portuguese were brought under influence.

[Chitnis, pp. 141-145]

(1) Sabhasad's account differs in two points. (1) He makes no mention of Baji Ghorpade having seized Shahaji by treachery; (2) According to him Khawaskhan had already joined the Sawant in Konkan, and Baji Ghorpade also had just descended the ghat, when the latter was attacked and overwhelmed by Shivaji. Shivaji then intended to attack Khawaskhan, who, hearing of what happened to Ghorpade, fled up the ghat to Bijapur. That Khawaskhan came to the Konkan, and fled up the ghat after the defeat of Ghorpade is affirmed also by the Jedhe Chronology (*vide* under year 1586).

VI.—FROM THE EXPEDITION OF JAI SINGH TO THE RESUMPTION OF THE MOGHUL WAR, 1665-1670

[The sources for this period from the Maratha side are neither full nor satisfactory. The Bakhars are almost the only sources. In Rajwade, Vol. VIII, there are four letters from Aurangzibe to Shivaji. They are Marathi translations of the original Persian letters made by some one in the early 19th century, according to Mr. Rajwade. One of these is translated below (No. 2). In the same volume there is an order of Shivaji's sanctioning a reward of Rs. 50,000 to Krishnaji Trimmul and his family, with whom Sambhaji had been left after the escape from Agra (No. 4).]

(1) Expedition of Jai Singh

Then the Emperor thought, "Which Sardar should be sent next? Who will return victorious?" In trying to make a selection with this idea, he made the choice of the Rajput Mirza Raja Jai Singh. The Padshah summoned him, sat with him in the private audience hall and instructed him in various ways: "You are to go against Shivaji. I send you with this idea—that it is necessary that either you, or myself personally, should go. I give a large army with you. Capture Shivaji by some artifice or other and bring him with you." With these words, he gave him elephants, horses, shields, swords, bows and quivers, and jagirs, extolled him, and despatched him with military robes of honour. To Dilirkhan, a Pathan nobleman, and a very brave man, the Padshah gave the command of the vanguard of the whole army, and 5,000 Pathans were given with him. Elephants, horses and dresses were presented to him also. Eight thousand horsemen were ordered to accompany him. In addition artillery of various kinds was given. Pathan and haughty Rajput horsemen were sent. The Padshah called Dilirkhan privately by another way and said to him, "Mirza Raja is a Rajput and Shivaji is a Hindu. They may perpetrate some treachery. But you are a man in my confidence, having been brought up in the Imperial household. So keep yourself well-informed, so that you may not fall a victim to treachery." With these words he was despatched.

When they started from Delhi, a mighty host started with them, as when Shaistakhan had set off before. From earth to sky there was nothing but dust; such was the ocean-like army which started for the south. They advanced from stage to stage. Where they encamped, the army covered an area of 15 miles in length and 10 miles in breadth. Then Raja Jai Singh thought to himself "Shivaji is very treacherous, full of artifice, brave and soldierly in his own person. By himself he killed Afzalkhan. He entered Shaistakhan's tent and fought. How can I win success?" He became anxious about it. Then great Brahmin priests suggested a means. They said, "Rites in propitiation of the

Goddess should be performed; then you will achieve success." Then the Mirza said, "Let one crore of *Chandis*[1] and eleven crores of *lingas*[2] be made. And for the fulfilment of my desires let prayers be repeated to Bagalamukhi Kalaratri.[3] Let these rites be performed." Four hundred Brahmins were appointed to these rites, which were performed every day. Two crores of rupees were set apart for the rites. The rites were completed after having been continued for three months. Final oblations in connection with them were made, Brahmins were feasted and given gifts. Then he marched on by stages.

The Maharaj was at Rajgad when couriers and messengers came. They brought the news, "Mirza Raja Jai Singh is coming with 80,000 horse, accompanied by Dilirkhan with 5,000 Pathans." Hearing this, Shivaji got anxious. He summoned his *karkuns* to the presence, and consulted them. They all said, "You killed Afzalkhan and surprised Shaistakhan. They were unwary Mussalmans. The devices adopted, too, were new. The Rajput knows everything; he will not allow himself to be taken by surprise. Peace should be made with him". Thus they said. Shivaji said, "The Rajput may somehow be won over, but this Dilirkhan is a great scoundrel and a rogue. He is in the good graces and secret counsels of the Emperor. Not at all a good man. I do not know what *he* will do. Were he not to be with Jai Singh, my objects would be accomplished. Well! the present is not all. The kingdom is the Goddess's! On Her I have placed the whole burden. She will do what she pleases." Thus he said. Thereupon that day passed. Next day the goddess Bhavani appeared and said "O child, the occasion is a difficult one this time. Jai Singh cannot be killed. He does not make peace. He has to be met. After meeting him, you will have to go to Delhi. There critical circumstances will occur. But I shall be with you. I shall, by various endeavours, protect my child and bring him back, and give him victory. Tell my child to have no anxiety. My kingdom, which I granted to my child as a boon, has not been granted for one generation only, but for twenty-seven generations. And what has been given is the kingdom of the whole Deccan, up to the Narmada. Mine is the care of the kingdom. Know that well. Whatever faults of conduct my child commits, all these I have to set right. Have no anxiety on any account." With these words, the Goddess disappeared. Clerks had written down these sentences. Then Shivaji regained consciousness. Then all told him about the words of the Goddess. These highly gratified him, and he took heart.

Meanwhile Jai Singh came and encamped between the two forts Purandhar and Kondhana. And he sent letters by couriers to Shivaji to this effect:—"You are a Sisodia Rajput. You and I are one and the same. You should come to an interview. I shall secure your welfare in every way." Letters to this effect were sent. The letters came to Rajgad, Shivaji read them, and anxiously considered who should be sent as envoy. He thought of sending Raghunath Pandit, a great scholar,

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(1) Images of the Goddess Durga. (2) Images of Shiva.
(3) What this goddess is is not known.

who was at hand, for "he had deep knowledge of the Shastras, which might be necessary in dealing with the Rajput. The Rajput also knew the Shastras. The two would well suit each other." He conferred the title of Panditrao on Raghunathpant and giving with him dresses and ornaments sent him to the Mirza Raja. He went to the enemy's camp.

Learning that Shivaji's envoy had come, the Mirza Raja received him with great honour. Negotiations took place. Jai Singh said, "The Emperor of Delhi is very powerful; entering into hostility with him will result in no good. Shivaji should come and see me. I shall take him with me and procure an interview with the Emperor. Tell him that he is to me like Ram Singh, my son, and that I shall do no harm to him." In confirmation of this, he gave Bel and Tulshi leaves after worshipping the god Karpuragaura. And he gave dresses to Panditrao and dresses and ornaments for Shivaji. And he asked him to say this to Shivaji: "Come for an interview. But defend your strongholds and forts for some four or six months. Show your strength and then come for the interview." With these words he secretly gave leave to Panditrao. The latter returned to Shivaji at Rajgad and told him what had happened. Shivaji was pleased. Instructions were sent to forts and strongholds at different places, and all were strengthened. And orders were sent to different places to defend the forts.

When Dilirkhan learnt that Shivaji's envoy had come to the camp, he was distressed at heart. "In the end the Hindu will unite with the Hindu and spoil the business," he thought, and next day came to see Mirza Raja. And he began to say: "Why are you sitting quiet? Near the camp are two forts, Kondhana and Purandhar. I storm Purandhar and take it. You should take Kondhana. If you go on capturing the forts, Shivaji will surrender." To this the Mirza Raja said, "It is well if the forts are captured, otherwise we shall lose our reputation. It is better, therefore, not to attempt the forts. We should rather subjugate the open country, and prevent provisions from reaching the forts. Then the forts will fall of themselves." When he said so, Dilirkhan got up in anger and walked off. 'I go immediately and take Purandhar. You may take Kondhana if you like.' So saying he got up, returned to his tent, beat the drums, took his sword and shield, and coming to the foot of Purandhar, encamped there and attacked the fort . . . . . .

At that time a man called Murar Baji Prabhu, a Sardar of Shivaji, held the command of the forces at Purandhar. He had with him a thousand men. There were, besides, a thousand men belonging to the garrison. There were thus altogether two thousand men. Murar Baji made a choice from among them, and with seven hundred men, he came down the fort against Dilirkhan. Dilirkhan and the whole army—5,000 powerful Pathans, besides Bailes(1) and other men—were ascending the fort on all the four sides. Murar Baji and his men came and became

(1) An obscure word. Prof. Sen says they were footmen. (Siva Chhatrapati p. 52 note.)

mixed up with them. A terrible fight took place. The Mavlas and Murar Baji in person fought recklessly. Five hundred Pathan horsemen were slain. Many Bailes also were killed. Murar Baji Prabhu himself with the corps of sixty men, cut his way to the entrance of Dilirkhan's camp. Dilirkhan fell back from the gate; and ordering his men, made the artillery, and the archers, and the lancers, and one thousand light-armed men to deliver an attack. Thus attacked, the sixty men fell. Murar Baji Prabhu took his shield and sword and attacked Dilirkhan. He thought "The best men of the Maharaj have died. How can I now show my face before him? I must, therefore, rush straight against the enemy." So thinking, he came upon the Khan. Then Dilirkhan said "Accept an assurance from me. You are a brave soldier. I shall recommend you." When he said so, Murar Baji replied, "What do I care for your assurance? I am a servant of Shivaji Raja; am I going to accept your assurance?" With these words he rushed straight against the Khan. When he was about to deal a blow with his sword at the Khan, the Khan himself took a bow, shot an arrow, and killed him. He fell. The Khan put his little finger into the mouth in amazement: "What a soldier did God create!" Three hundred men died with Murar Baji. The remaining four hundred returned to the fort. Dilirkhan took off his turban, and attacked the fort, resolving to put on the turban when he had taken the fort. He came below the gate of the fort, and sat there, making a rampart of shields. The men in the fort, not minding the fall of Murar Baji, went on fighting determinedly. "What if one, Murar Baji, has fallen? We are equally brave, and shall fight thus with courage."

Shivaji learnt the news at Rajgad, that Dilirkhan had closely besieged Purandhar, that Murar Baji Prabhu had fallen, and that three hundred men had died in battle. Learning this he felt troubled in mind. "If Dilirkhan takes this fort, the rest will fall of themselves. Then there will be no grace in going for an interview. It would be best to go for an interview while the forts are still holding out, give up by myself whatever have to be given, and make peace." With this idea he sent Raghunath Bhat Panditrao to Mirza Raja with this message: "I come for an interview even now. There would be loss of prestige([1]) in coming to an interview after Dilirkhan has captured the fort." Thus by this message he arranged for going to an interview. Panditrao went and saw Jai Singh, and told him everything. He, too, approved, and again confirmed his oath and solemn undertaking. Panditrao then returned to Rajgad. Immediately on his return, Shivaji personally selected and took with himself one thousand men. He made obeisance to God Shambhu and the Goddess Bhavani, saluted and embraced his mother, bowed to good, ascetic Brahmins, and taking the blessing of all, descended the fort and started. And he came at once to the Mirza Raja's camp. Panditrao went in advance and reported that Shivaji had come. Learning this Jai Singh himself came on foot outside the gate. Shivaji got down from

([1]) The word in the text is doubtful.

the palanquin and met him. The two went and sat together on the same seat. Then Shivaji began to say to Mirza Raja, "I am to you just like Ram Singh; protect me as you will protect him." With these words, he took his seat. Then Jai Singh said, "You are perfectly right. We are Rajputs; you and I belong to the same race. I will lose my head rather than that any harm shall come to you." Giving this assurance, he swore an oath. Then Shivaji said "I give you whatever forts you want. Call Dilirkhan back. I make over Purandhar to you and raise your standard there. But I do not wish to give the credit to a Mussalman." When he said so, Jai Singh was pleased, and said, "Dilirkhan is proud, and in the good graces of the Emperor. You will have to salute him yourself. You must go and see him in person. I shall send a Rajput, a relative of mine, with you; he will take you to the interview and bring you back. Do not be anxious. If a hair of your head is touched, I die with my 50,000 Rajputs." Hearing this Shivaji said "I am Shivaji. Do I make any account of Dilirkhan? As you order, I shall go and interview him." With these words, he took leave. Mirza Raja sent with him Subhan Singh, his maternal uncle, a great warrior, of enormous strength, brave, much more powerful than Dilirkhan, and one whom Dilirkhan also knew. Mirza Raja said to him, "Take care of the Raja and bring him back; when I send him I rely on you;" and then sent him off. Subhan Singh took with him fifty Rajputs like himself and set off. Shivaji went where Dilirkhan was, near the gate of Purandhar. Word was sent to Dilirkhan in advance that Shivaji Raje had come and interviewed Mirza Raja and was now comingto see the Khan. At the news Dilirkhan's heart was on fire, and he bit his wrists in anger that the credit for Purandhar had not come to him; that even the negotiations were not made through him, that the credit had gone to the Rajput. Vexed on this account, he came forward to receive Shivaji and embraced him for as long as a Ghadi,(1) angrily holding him fast within his arms. Dilirkhan was a powerful man. He had the strength of an elephant or even more than that. And he ate, too, as much as an elephant. Every day he consumed as much as does an elephant. As for his body, he was a second Hedamb Rakshas! Such an enormous man he was. He angrily held the Raja fast in his arms for one ghatika. But the Sardar [Subhan Singh] was powerful and equally stout: he did not mind it. Then the hug of embrace having been loosened, the two sat on one side near a bolster. On the other side sat Subhan Singh near another bolster. Dilirkhan kept a dagger near him, and sat with his hand on it. And angrily he asked Subhan Singh, "Are you come with the Raja?" So he asked. Subhan Singh, ... (2) replied, "Khanji, the Raja has come to you. Now we shall give you to-morrow whatever forts you want. You should descend and come to the camp. Such is the order of the Mirza Raja." When he said this, the Khan felt much annoyed that his object was not achieved. He said, "You are my superior. If you so order, I shall come. But have this fort delivered to me to-morrow. I shall raise the

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(1) Ghadi = 24 minutes. (2) Unintelligible.

standard on it and then come." Then Subhan Singh began to say, "We have received the fort. You should come along." Thereupon Dilirkhan descended and came to the camp. Guards were appointed to watch the fort. Betel leaves were presented to Shivaji and he was sent away. The Khan said, "You two should go to Mirza Raja. He is the senior man ; I am agreeable to whatever he does."

When he said so, Shivaji and Subhan Singh returned to the Mirza Raja, and told him what had happened. Then Jai Singh and Shivaji dined together. A tent was given to Shivaji for staying. At night the negotiations between the two took place. "All the forts should be given to the Emperor, and you should proceed to Delhi." When this was proposed, Shivaji began to say, "I cede twenty-seven of my forts, and we two—myself and my son Sambhaji—come to interview the Emperor. After the interview, I should be appointed against the Padshahis of the south—*viz.*, the Adilshahi, the Kutubshahi and the Nizamshahi. I shall conquer the three Padshahis. One, the Nizamshahi, has been already conquered by them. The remaining two I shall conquer for you." Thus he said, and the Mirza Raja agreed. Then Shivaji started from Poona. Sambhaji Raje also was brought. Twenty-seven forts were given to the Moghuls, and Moghul standards were raised on them.

[Sabhasad, pp. 36-44.]

(2) Campaign against Bijapur

[After his submission to Jai Singh, Shivaji joined the latter in his campaign against Bijapur and did good service. Aurangzib sent him a letter of praise, a robe of honour, and a jewelled dagger.]

Shivaji Raje, pre-eminent among the Rajas, his peers [etc. . .] should know as follows :—

A report from Raja Jai Singh, that you with your men are among the Imperial troops, and that you took the forts of Tattora and Phaltan belonging to Bijapur, and forced their army to retire at night on the Talkonkan, where it had previously been, has led me to appreciate your services. So I send you a fine robe and a jewelled dagger. As, being gratified with this reward, you put forth greater exertions in this expedition, you will win our favour in a greater degree. 7, Rabilawal, 1077 Hijri.(1)

(3) Visit to Agra

With this retinue the king and his son by forced marches proceeded to Delhi. The Emperor when he learnt that Shivaji was coming to him for an interview, despatched orders to all the Fauzdars and the Mokasis in his districts, enjoining the former to go to the places where he halted and there pay him respects, to supply him with all the provisions and

(1) This corresponds to 28th August 1666, which is impossible, as Shivaji had visited Agra and made his escape before this.

forage he required and to look after him generally as after a prince of the blood royal. The Fauzdars did act according to these instructions and the king reached Delhi after two months. Learning that Shivaji had come, the Emperor sent Ram Singh forward to receive him. Raghunathpant Korde, the envoy sent in advance, also came in. He reported everything about the Emperor. He said that outwardly everything was satisfactory, but he could not make out what lurked in the Emperor's mind. Ram Singh interviewed Shivaji and then returned to the Emperor. The Emperor then assigned to the king a fine independent building to dwell in, which came to bear his name. Then having waited for an auspicious day, the king proceeded to the interview with the Emperor. The Emperor held his court and armed himself with five weapons, girt up his loins and putting on an armour seated himself on his throne. He also caused about 2,000 brave men to stand round about the throne apprehending that Shivaji might jump on to it and try the same treacherous trick as that with which he had destroyed Afzalkhan at an interview, as he was not an ordinary human being but a devil. Ram Singh conducted the king, Sambhaji Raja the king's son, and ten of the most trusted men selected from his retinue, to the interview. Ram Singh and the Emperor exchanged looks. The Emperor saw them and said, "Come! Shivaji Raje!" On this Shivaji made three bows, intending one for Shambhu Mahadev, the other for Shri Bhavani and the third for his father, and stood, as he was ordered, near and below Jaswant Singh Maharaj the king of Marwad—a state yielding an income of 9 crores. The king's son also stood by him. The king asked Ram Singh who it was who was standing near and above himself. Ram Singh replied that it was Jaswant Singh. At this the king was enraged and said "An amir like Jaswant Sing! Why, my soldiers must have seen his back! That I should stand below him!" So saying he angrily asked for the dagger which Ram Singh carried at his waist, saying he would kill the Maharaj. Ram Singh said "Be patient and calm yourself." This noise was overheard by the Emperor who asked what the matter was. Ram Singh replied :—"The wild tiger is chafing from heat: there has been an incident." These words created fear in the mind of the Emperor: there was no knowing what might happen. He therefore directed Ram Singh to take the king to the quarters assigned to him, saying that the interview would take place at his convenience the next day or some other day. The king then accompanied by his son, by Ram Singh, and by his followers returned to his dwelling. The Emperor felt relieved at the king's departure and said, "A great calamity has been averted; Shivaji's mien had showed marks of perturbation."

After the king's return to his dwelling, he had a talk with Ram Singh. The king said :—"What sort of an Emperor is this? I am Shivaji, and should he have made me stand below Jaswant? The Emperor understands nothing." Ram Singh replied :—"You should not come for an interview: and even if you do, you should keep up appearances and go back. When you return safe from here we shall have achieved a good deal." So saying Ram Singh returned to his dwelling.

The king then held a council of his karkuns, courtiers and Raghunathpant Korde. The king asked :—" What should be done next ? I know what sort of reception I have had at the interview with the Emperor. How can I without any hitch get his leave and return ? I do not know how I can obtain his leave to return unless I promise to undertake some work for him." He then sent Raghunathpant Korde to the Emperor telling him to make a petition to the Emperor to this effect : that he had only one feeling towards the Emperor ; that he had unhesitatingly come with his son for an interview and that he awaited the Emperor's orders ; that if it pleased the Emperor he was ready to serve him by taking possession of the entire Adilshahi and Kutubshahi kingdoms, and tendering them to him ; and that the Emperor should compare his services with those of the other Subhas whom he sent. The king also told Raghunathpant to suggest to the Emperor that he might be invited to his secret council chamber, when he would discuss many things with him. Raghunathpant Korde accordingly went to the Emperor the next day with the petition containing the required communication. The Emperor read it and his suspicion was aroused ; he made the following endorsement thereon—" Wait a little, and your request will be granted." The envoy returned and told the king accordingly. The king hearing this reply, conjectured that there was suspicion in the mind of the Emperor and that the reply had not been given with a free heart.

The same day Shaistakhan sent a message to Jafarkhan the Diwan, who had held that post in the time of the Emperor's predecessor also (the duties, however, being performed by a deputy), to the following effect :—" Shivaji is very treacherous and artful. When he entered my camp, he jumped forty cubits from the ground and entered the pavilion. If the Emperor were to grant him an interview, he is sure to jump forty or fifty cubits and play foul with him also." Jafarkhan communicated this message to the Emperor. The Emperor was struck with wonder and thought it to be true and his suspicion was now confirmed.

The next day the king came to know that Jafarkhan had poisoned the mind of the Emperor against him. He therefore sent his envoy Raghunathpant to him to beg an interview. Jafarkhan anxiously pondered a long while when he received this communication. At last he consented. The king then went to Jafarkhan. He was well received. He pressed his point about his Saranjam. The Diwan however was not sympathetic. For the sake of appearance only he said, " Very well." In the midst of this conversation, Jafarkhan's wife, the sister of Shaistakhan, sent him a message from inside the house that he had better dismiss Shivaji from his presence sooner than he intended to do, as he was the man who had killed Afzalkhan, and cut off the fingers of Shaistakhan, and that it was not unlikely he might similarly destroy him. A present of dress and clothes was then made to the king and he was allowed to take his departure. The Diwan said, " I will move the Emperor to grant you the Saranjam. The king then returned to his quarters and said : " Jafarkhan also did not speak with a free heart. Well ! The will of Shri Bhavani will prevail."

The next day the Emperor sent an army (cavalry and infantry) of 5,000 men under Poladkhan the Kotwal to keep guard about the quarters where the king had put up. The king was frightened and holding his son Sambhaji to his bosom gave vent to his sorrow. Nirajipant, Dattajipant and Trimbakpant consoled him in various ways. Shivaji began to consider what plan ought to be tried next. While he was so deliberating, night fell. Then the goddess Bhawani appeared to him in a dream and said :—"Do not be anxious. I will cast confusion on all your foes, by means of my bewitching power, and take away yourself and your son in safety from this place." Then he awoke and communicated this to his courtiers and felt happy.

The next day the king ordered various sweetmeats and other articles and arranged them in ten baskets made of bamboo which also he had ordered. He also employed two porters for each box and inserting a wooden bar in the middle, sent these boxes as presents to the Vaziers. The sentries on the guard asked whose boxes they were and where they were going. The porters replied that the baskets contained sweetmeats which were going as presents from the king to some Vaziers. The sentries opened one or two baskets and found that they really contained sweetmeats. They therefore allowed them to go on. This course was continued for some time. After about a week, the king told his horsemen and karkuns to effect their escape. They all fled.

Then one day Shivaji and his son took their seats in one basket. Other baskets of sweetmeats were placed before and after, while they sat in the middle one, and set out. Shivaji removed his dress and ornaments and put them on the person of Hiroji Farjand whom he made sleep on his cot, and covering his body with a scarf, only kept his hand bare so as to be seen. He also caused a boy to be in attendance. According to previous arrangements, the karkuns who had been already sent away were waiting for him at a village six miles distant from Delhi. The men of the watch opened and examined one or two of the foremost baskets, but let the rest pass without opening them. After they had neared the suburbs of Delhi, they alighted from the baskets and went on foot to the village where the karkuns were stationed. All of them held a council in the jungle and agreed that to go direct to their own country was not safe as the Emperor's forces would in that case pursue them and therefore resolved to go to Benares, to the other side of Delhi. Having formed this resolution the king, his son Sambhaji Raja, Niraji Raoji, Dattaji Trimbak and Ragho Mitra Maratha started. They started for Benares in the disguise of fakirs and with ashes rubbed to their bodies. The rest were told to go wherever they pleased.

At Delhi in the meanwhile Hiroji Farjand lay sleeping on the cot. He lay like that through the four quarters of the night and for three quarters of the next day. The people of Poladkhan who were on the guard went to the room and found the king sleeping with the scarf on his

body, and the boy massaging his feet. They asked the boy as to why the king slept so long that day. The boy replied that the king's head was aching. So they saw and returned. In this way Hiroji slept on for three quarters of the day. Then he got up, put on his trousers and turban and came out of the room with the boy. To the enquiries of the guard he replied, "The king's head has been aching. If any one tries to go into the room, please do not allow him. I am fetching medicine." So saying, Hiroji and the boy issued out. They repaired to the camp of Ram Singh where Hiroji secretly told him all that had transpired, and left him to take the road to his country.

Ram Singh then went to see the Emperor. He said to the Emperor that Shivaji had come through him, that the Emperor had kept him under surveillance not his own [Ram Singh's] so that he was now in no way responsible for him. The Emperor answered "You have no concern whatever with him. He is the Emperor's servant. The Emperor will look to his promotion. You have nothing to do in the matter." Ram Singh made a respectful bow and retired to his quarters.

It was the ninth hour of the day. Then the sentries on the guard said, "There is no moving to and fro of people today. The servants said that the king was unwell. Since then nobody has been going or coming. What is the matter ? So they went into the room to see, but there was no one on the cot. It was evident that the king had run away. Poladkhan carried these tidings to the Emperor. Poladkhan said, "The king was in the room ; every now and then we had been going to see him ; still he has all of a sudden disappeared. God knows whether he has run away, or sunk through the ground beneath or ascended into the skies above, or what other contrivance of escape he has hit upon." The Emperor was surprised to hear this, and felt much perplexed. He summoned his army and sent two lacs and sixty thousand cavalry to pursue him in all directions, giving them the following instructions :— "Shivaji is very expert in tricks. He must be in some disguise. You must therefore carefully scrutinise people like Jangams, Yogis, Sanyasis, Tapasis, Bairagis, Nanakpanthis, Gorakhpanthis, Fakirs, Brahmins, Beggars, Brahmacharis, Paramahamsis, mad men and others, find him out and bring him a prisoner." The army went in all the directions. The Emperor suspected that the king must have concealed himself somewhere in the town and that he might do him some mischief in the night. He therefore kept a careful look-out and a strong guard of armed men about him night and day and sat awake on his cot. In this manner he lived.

The king and his son Sambhaji by rapid night marches went to Mathura. Having made a search in the town to ascertain if there were any acquaintances there, they found out Krishnajipant, Kashirao and Visajipant—three brothers, the brothers-in-law of Moropant Peshwa. Nirajipant knew them. He went to them and told them all that had occurred. They boldly consented to receive them. Whereupon the king kept his son Sambhaji with them and said :—"As soon as I reach my

country, I shall arrange to send you a letter and a messenger; you must then bring my son with you and accompany him to my country with your families. I shall look after your welfare in all ways and reward your devotion handsomely." With these words, he kept the prince with them, and taking Krishnajipant one of the brothers with him, started for Benares. He desired him to assist himself in carrying out the pilgrimage to Gaya and Prayag through men of his acquaintance. He reached Benares, bathed there secretly, paid his homage to the god Shri Vishveshvar, and performed the bath at Prayag, and the Gaya-varjana ceremony. He borrowed large sums of money and spent them in charity. Then he thought of returning to his kingdom. If he proceeded by the direct route, he thought, he might bring himself face to face with the Emperor's army sent for a search after him. He therefore returned to Rajgad by Gondwan, Bhaganagar and Bijapur. On the way he was on the point of being detected, but Shri Bhawani brought him safe to his kingdom with Nirajipant, Dattajipant and Raghoji Maratha. In commemoration of the king's safe return alms were liberally distributed. The king's mother, the karkuns, the army and the guards on the forts,—all were pleased; everywhere there were great rejoicings.

[Sabhasad, pp. 45-53. Mankar's translation, adapted]

(4) Sanad to Krishnaji Trimmul

Sanad for a reward out of the Treasury, from Shivaji Raje—may his fortune last for ever!—Suhur year 1072.(1)

After the Saheb started from Agra, Sambhaji Raje was entrusted to Krishnaji Vishvasrao. The latter brought Sambhaji safely to Rajgad. His mother Aiji . . . . .(2) Kashi Trimmul also accompanied. Therefore it has been graciously decided to give

Rs. 50,000

Total Rupees fifty thousand.

Mother Aiji	Kashi Trimmul
25,000	25,000.

In this way they should be given.

[Rajwade, Vol. VIII, No. 23]

(5) Peace with the Moghuls 1668-1670

The king, after his safe flight from Delhi with his son, and return to his own country, captured 27 forts within four months. Aurangzib came to learn of these exploits of the king and felt anxious. He called his eldest son Shah Alam to him and amongst other things said to him:—

(1) 24th May 1671—23rd May 1672.

(2) Unintelligible.

"Shivaji cannot be taken by force of arms. You go and stay at Aurangabad and form friendship and peace with him. If he does not come for an interview, it may be dispensed with; and granting a jagir either in his name or in that of his son engage his army in our service. Whatever the king wants, whether it be a grant of lands or territory, money, riches or military stations may be given to him, but anyhow engage him in our service. Achieve this much; then everything will have been gained." So saying he placed sixty to seventy thousand horsemen at the Shah's disposal and despatched him. By forced marches the Shah reached Aurangabad and sent messengers, letters and envoys to the King at Rajgad. The king read the letters and was pleased to see that they contained an offer of peace. He then deputed Raghunathpant Korde to Aurangabad with presents of rich clothes and jewels to the Shah. Raghunathpant had an interview, having been hospitably received by the Shah. A secret council was held where among other things the Shah said:—"The king is my brother. We should be of one mind. The king should come for an interview, I shall grant special allowances in favour of his son. The king should send a force of horsemen under a Sardar to serve under us and also a Brahmin of rank. We shall maintain them by granting a *mokasa*. The king should remain in harmony with the Emperor." It was settled that a *mansab* of 7,000 should be made in the name of Sambhaji, and that territory worth 15 lacs of hons in Berar and Khandesh should be given. Raghunathpant was then despatched with valuable ornaments and clothes.

After his return Raghunathpant had an interview with the king and delivered to him the jewels and clothes and letters given by the Prince and told him the proposal about the *mansab*. The king listened attentively and thought to himself, "First, the government of Bijapur is hostile to me, then that of Bhaganagar; and again the Moghul. Three such enemies cannot be endured. Mine is a newly established kingdom; that too has been reduced to straits by two or three hard blows. It is therefore better to turn one at least of the enemies into a friend and to nourish our strength for two years more. Then I may act as the tide of events dictates." So thinking, and resolving to make peace with the Moghul, he placed a force of 5,000 horsemen under Prataprao the Sarnobat and sent them to the Shah giving with them Nirajipant as Sarkarkun . . . . Pralhadpant the son of Nirajipant was made Sabnis of the Army. Raoji Somnath, karkun, was sent to be the Subedar of the territory and *mokasa* which the Prince might give. Thus peace was made with the Moghul. The grant to Sambhaji was accepted; and Nirajipant and Prataprao went to Aurangabad.

The Shah received them with the greatest honours and assigned to them a spot for their quarters. He also made all of them presents of elephants, horses, jewels and clothes. He gave as jagir the Berars which yielded a revenue of 15 lacs of hons. Raoji Somnath was appointed Sarsubhedar over this country. . . . . . All the people received a good deal of money and other valuables and remained contented.

The Prince communicated all this by letter to the Emperor at Delhi. He was much pleased with the information. He was glad that his territory was now safe. The army was at Aurangabad for two years. The king on his part now got leisure and collected a large amount of money in his dominions. Some of the Adilshahi forts and country were captured. The Shah and the king became thick friends ; they exchanged presents. This raised suspicion in the mind of the Emperor at Delhi. He thought that as the Shah and the king had become friends they might prove disloyal to him and rise against him. He therefore resolved to create dissension between them and with this object in view wrote to the Shah that Shivaji was a rogue ; that his commanders Prataprao and Nirajipant were with their armies ; the Shah should not trust them ; that it was not unlikely that they might play foul at Daulatabad ; that the Shah should therefore imprison them and remove all their horses to the stables ; and that he should not neglect to carry out these instructions. The Shah's envoy who was at the Emperor's court immediately sent these tidings to the Shah with a warning to be on his guard and act cautiously.

The Shah having received this message communicated it to Prataprao and Nirajipant whom he had called to a secret conference for the purpose ; and having presented them with rich clothes and jewels, gave them leave, saying :—" You should flee to the king to-morrow in the night with your horse. If your things remain behind, they will be sent to you. The infantry should be disposed in different houses. Take away your baggage afterwards at leisure. In three or four days the Emperor's letters will arrive. Then I shall have to imprison you. The sooner you leave, therefore, the better." Nirajipant and Prataprao returned to their camps, and gave secret instructions to their armies to make the necessary preparations to depart. And all left the place the next day. By forced marches they came to the king and had an interview with him and showed him the treasure, clothes and curious ornaments and other articles which they had brought with them. The king was pleased. He said :—" The army well maintained itself for two years and I made a man like the Prince my friend. What has happened is not a bad thing. I am now at liberty to plunder Moghul territory." The king's army accordingly left for Aurangabad.

A week later, letters addressed to the Shah were received from the Emperor. The Shah learnt the contents and said :—" The Marathas are rogues. They have already run away ; it is now a week. Had they been present now I should have imprisoned them." He then sent a reply to the Emperor saying that he would have acted in obedience to the Emperor's instructions but that he regretted that as the Marathas had run away a week before the receipt of the Emperor's letters, he had no opportunity of arresting and imprisoning them. The Emperor was surprised at this intelligence. He said :—" The Marathas are shrewd men."

[Sabhasad, pp. 58-61. Mankar's translation, adapted]

VII.—FROM THE RESUMPTION OF THE MOGHUL WAR TO THE CORONATION, 1670-1674

[During this period Shivaji fought openly and successfully against the Moghul Empire. His success is largely accounted for by the difficulties of the Imperial government elsewhere, by the Emperor's suspicions of his son, Prince Muazzam, who acted as the Viceroy of the Deccan during the first half of this period, and by the mutual jealousies of the Imperial officers. Shivaji began by recovering many of the forts which had been surrendered in 1665 ; then he looted Surat a second time, and foiled an attempt made to intercept him on his return. (Battle of Vani-Dindori, October 1670, No. 1 below.) This was followed up by the sack of Karanja in Berar, and the capture of the great fortress of Salher in Baglan (January 1671). Towards the end of that year the operations against the Marathas were entrusted to Bahadur Khan and Dilirkhan, but with no better results. According to one authority, Dilirkhan's attempt to take the fort of Kanera was defeated by Ramaji Pangera. The Moghul arms sustained a still heavier defeat at the obstinately fought battle of Salher, January 1672 (No. 2). The victory of Salher immensely increased the prestige of Shivaji. Jawhar and the Koli country were quickly occupied ; the death of the Sultan of Bijapur (December 1672) having given the signal for the resumption of war with Bijapur, Panhala was taken once more in March 1673 ; and in the same month or early in the next, Prataprao met and defeated the Bijapuri general Bahlolkhan at Umrani. Stung by Shivaji's censure of the easy terms granted to Bahlolkhan, Prataprao met him again and fell in the battle of Nesri[1] (February 1674) (No. 3). For the monsoon of this year, the horse were cantoned at Chiplun in the Konkan. A letter embodying the instructions issued by Shivaji on this occasion to the officers and men is given below (No. 4) ; it bears testimony to the minute care with which he made arrangements for his army, as well as his solicitude that the civilian population should not suffer at the hands of the soldiery.

Many of the abovementioned incidents are referred to in a Sanskrit poem called Parnala-Parvata-Grahan-Akhyana (Story of the Capture of the Fort of Panhala) (No. 5).]

(1) Battle of Vani-Dindori (October 1670)

On receiving this news [*i.e.*, that Shivaji had looted Surat and was returning] the Moghul Subhedars, Mohabatkhan[2] and Daudkhan, with twenty *Umraos*, rode seven gavs[3], and came up, there being a thousand horse with each Subhedar. They came up to Shivaji. The latter learnt that the enemy had come. Shivaji himself rode a horse, wearing armour for the body and the head, and a sword in the hand, sent forward the

(1) 'Nivti' in Jedhe Chronology. In the Modi script 'Nivti' and 'Nisri' may easily be mistaken for each other. Sabhasad speaks of 'Jesri'; 'Ja' and 'Na,' too, are easily confused in Modi.

(2) This is a mistake, Mahabatkhan came after the battle of Vani-Dindori (Sarkar Shivaji, p. 210).

(3) Gav=about 10 miles.

baggage horses and the foot, and stood with ten thousand horsemen, relieved of all baggage. There is a town by name Vani-Dindori. There he stopped, and fought a severe fight with the Subhedars' men who had come up. Mohabatkhan and Daudkhan fought. Shivaji stationed his men in the front, and remained himself in the rear and fought. Prataprao Sarnobat, and Vyankoji Datto, and Anandrao, and other Sardars advanced and made a great slaughter; they killed the Moghuls and felled their corpses. The battle went on for six hours. The Marathas fought splendidly. Three thousand Moghuls were killed; three or four thousand horses were captured. Two Moghul Sardars were taken. Thus Shivaji returned victorious.

[Sabhasad, p. 63]

(2) Battles of Kanera and Salher (January 1672)

So saying he called to him Ikhlaskhan an exceedingly brave man and Bahlolkhan and sent them to Salher with a force of 20,000 men with instructions to capture the fort. He also sent Dilirkhan with 10,000 horses to capture the fort of Ahiwant. Dilirkhan came and laid siege to Ravla-Javla. The men in charge of the fort fought desperately. Dilirkhan did not succeed in taking it. Moropant Peshwa sent a reinforcement of 1,000 Mavlas who surprised the enemies. Ramaji Pangera who commanded 1,000 Mavlas gave battle to Dilirkhan at the foot of the Kanera fort. Ramaji Pangera harangued his men and asked those who were willing to fight to the last to come forward. Seven hundred men came forward. All of them fought desperately. Dilirkhan's men dismounted and hemmed in the Mavlas on all sides. The battle lasted for nearly three hours and the men on both sides fought as vigorously as if they were so many comrades playing the "tipri" in the Shimga festivities. One thousand and two hundred of Dilirkhan's Pathans fell on the field. Ramaji Pangera and his 700 followers received on their bare bodies from 20 to 30 wounds each from the enemy's swords and arrows and fell. It was a bloody battle and Dilirkhan was struck with admiration at the heroic conduct of the Mavlas.

Ikhlaskhan Nabob came and laid siege to Salher. When this intelligence reached the king he sent letters and messengers to Prataprao his Commander-in-chief whom he had sent into the Moghul territory with an army, directing him to proceed to Salher up the Ghats with his army, and to attack and defeat Bahlolkhan; and intimating to him that Moropant Peshwa had been ordered with his men from the Konkan; he would also attack him from the other side; so that he expected them to attack the enemy simultaneously from two sides and to destroy him. Prataprao and Moropant accordingly reached Salher with their armies. The cavalry rushed into the enemy's army from one side, the Mavlas rushed from the other, and a general onset ensued. The battle raged fiercely. It went on for the 12 hours of the day. The Moghuls, Pathans, Rajputs and Rohillas fought with artillery, and guns carried on elephants and camels. The dust on the ground flew to the skies so that for six square miles everything was veiled in obscurity and neither friend nor foe could be identified, so intense was the ardour with which both

sides fought. Ten thousand men fell on both sides. Innumerable elephants, camels and horses were killed. The battlefield ran with streams of blood. Six thousand horses, one hundred and twenty-five elephants, and 6,000 camels of the enemy were captured, as also immense treasure, jewels, clothes and bedding. Twenty-two high Vazirs were captured alive. Ikhlaskanh and Bahlolkhan themselves were taken prisoner. In this manner the whole Subha was destroyed. One or two thousand of the enemy's forces effected their escape by flight. In this battle Prataprao, Anandrao, Vyankaji Datto, Rupaji Bhonsle, Suryarao Kakde, Sidoji Nimbalkar, Khandoji Jagtap, Gondji Jagtap, Santaji Jagtap, Manaji More, Visaji Ballal, Moro Nagnath, Mukund Ballal and other officers played a very prominent part. The Mavlas and their leaders also behaved well. Moropant Peshwa and Prataprao the Commander-in-chief especially exerted their utmost. And during the fight Suryarao Kakde the valiant commander of 5,000 fought exceedingly well. Then he fell dead struck by a canon ball. Suryarao was not an ordinary personage. Like Karna of the Mahabharat he was a valiant and brave warrior. Many other illustrious leaders fell. The king's forces were thus victorious in this battle.

Moropant Peshwa and Prataprao Sarnobat communicated the intelligence of this victory to the king. The king was over-joyed when he learnt of this victory. Guns were fired and sugar was distributed in token of rejoicing. The messengers who brought the intelligence were presented with gold armlets, and immense treasure was given as a reward to Prataprao Sarnobat, Moropant Peshwa, Anandrao, and Vyankajipant. The officers of the army, commanders of 1,000 and 5,000, and the Mavlas were also rewarded and applauded. The king then directed the Vazirs who had been captured to be released, after being provided with clothes and horses. The Peshwa, the Sarnobat and other Sardars were pleased. Bahlolkhan and other captured Vazirs were furnished with clothes and horses and then released. Dilirkhan who was at a distance of four marches from Salher ran away when this intelligence reached him.

The Emperor at Delhi became uneasy when the news of the defeat of his forces reached his ears. For three days he neither left his room nor came to the Darbar. So sorry he was. He said "The Lord God, it appears, has already taken away the Padshahi from the Mussalmans, and delivered it to Shivaji. It would be better if death snatches me away before Shivaji, as I cannot now endure the anxiety I feel from his exploits." Bahadurkhan Koka the foster-brother of the Emperor came forward and consoled him, saying, "You may rule at Delhi in peace; I shall march against Shivaji and keep him in his place and prevent his army from making inroads on the Emperor's territories. I shall bring him to submission by various devices. Have no anxiety." So saying, he prevailed upon the Emperor to take his seat on the throne. The Emperor applauded Bahadurkhan's spirit and presented him with clothes, ornaments, his own necklace and the head ornament which he wore over his turban and which was inlaid with

diamonds; two elephants, horses and immense treasure. He then placed at his disposal 70,000 horsemen and ordered Dilirkhan to act as the leader of his van. Such was the vast army that marched from Delhi against the King.

[Sabhasad, pp. 72-76. Mankar's translation, adapted]

(3) Battles of Umrani (March or April 1673) and Nesri (February 1674)

Abdul Karim Bahlolkhan now marched from Bijapur against the king with 12,000 cavalry. This intelligence reached the king who summoned Prataprao and the whole army, and ordered him thus :—"Bahlolkhan of Bijapur has been stirring too much; destroy him and be victorious." The army accordingly marched against the Nabob and encountered him near Umrani. He was hemmed in on all sides by the king's forces and forced to halt. He had no access to water. Thus he was reduced to straits. A fierce battle ensued. Meanwhile the Sun set. At last the Nabob made a desperate effort, went to a spot where water was procurable and drank it there. Then he secretly informed Prataprao the Commander-in-chief that he had not marched against him out of his own will but in obedience to the Padshah's orders, that thenceforth he was one of Prataprao's own men and that he would on no account enter into hostilities with the king. By these and other conciliatory expressions he succeeded in effecting peace. Then Shivaji's forces went away. When Shivaji learnt the news, he was angry, warned the army, and took Prataprao to task, asking, "For what reason did you make peace?" Prataprao with his army now penetrated into the Moghul's territory and having overrun and pillaged Bhaganagar, Deogad, Ramgiri and other places returned to his headquarters. . . . .

Subsequently Bahlolkhan was again sent by the Padshah of Bijapur into the Panhalla territory. He came to that province. Then the king learnt of his arrival and said, "He comes again and again." So he sent Prataprao again, with this peremptory message: "Go with your army and meet Bahlolkhan, who is coming, and destroy him completely, and win a victory. Else do not show your face before me." Prataprao accordingly marched with his whole army and encountered the Nabob at Jesri. A bloody battle ensued in which, as fate would have it, Prataprao fell by the blow of a sword. Bahlolkhan then retreated to Bijapur and the king's forces returned to Panhalla.

The intelligence of Prataprao's death was received by the king with great sorrow. He said—"This day I have lost one side; I wrote to Prataprao that if he failed he had better not show me his face. He has done accordingly and acquired glory. How is the army to be managed now? Who should be appointed Commander-in-chief?" So saying he went to the army and taking it with him repaired to Chiplun in the Konkan, a place sacred to Parashurama, and remained there. He then made an inspection of his army, opened the treasury, and distributed money amongst all men, great and small, of the cavalry and the infantry. There was one Hasaji Mohite a Jumledar of the cavalry,

who in consideration of his bravery, patience and other soldierly qualities was appointed Commander-in-chief under the designation of Hambirrao. The whole army was assembled together and placed under him.

[Sabhasad, pp. 78-80. Mankar's translation, adapted]

(4) Shivaji's Letter to his Military Officers

From—Shivaji Raje ;

To—The Jumledars, Havaldars, and Karkuns in charge of the horse at Halvarna, taluka Chiplun, district Dabhol.

Suhur 1074. The Saheb posted the cavalry in the subdivision of Chiplun, and the circumstances were not such that the force could go upcountry after this. So they were sent into cantonment. Now as the troops remained at Chiplun, much of the supplies and provisions and other things which had been stored for the horse, for use during the rainy season, in the district of Dabhol, was exhausted. And the requirements of the army in grass and many other miscellaneous articles had to be raised from the country round about Chiplun. So nothing remains there now. Then again, the horse have to remain inactive for twenty days in this hot season, in Vaishakh. But as it was necessary, whatever supplies there were at the different forts have been taken from the karkuns, and thus provision made for the horse. Now, you will ask for any amount of rations of grain and grass, feed recklessly while the supplies remain; and when these are exhausted, during the height of the rainy season, you will get nothing; you will have to starve, and the horses will begin to die. That will mean that you will have killed the horses. Then you will begin to trouble the country. For instance, you will go, and some will take the grain of the cultivators, some bread, some grass, some wood, some vegetables and things. When you begin to act like that, the poor peasants, who are holding on to their cottages and somehow eking out a livelihood, will themselves begin to run away. Some of them will starve. Then they will think that you are worse than the Moghuls who overrun the country-side! Such agony there will be! Then all the curses of the peasants and the horses will descend on you. Know this well, and whether you are a Sipahi or a foot-soldier, lay this to your hearts, and behave yourselves. Some of you may be staying in different villages, in connection with the government stables or otherwise; they have no business to trouble the rayats in any way whatever—no business to step outside the place where they stay. The Saheb has given them their due shares from the treasury. Whatever any one wants, whether it be grain, or grass for any cattle that you may be having, or fuel, or vegetables, or anything else, he should duly buy it if it comes round to be sold; or go to the bazar, and buy it duly there. There is no need to force anybody, or to tyrannise over anybody, or to quarrel with anybody. Again, the provisions, which have been assigned to the government stables, must last through the rainy season. The karkuns will give rations of grain with an eye to this: you must take only that much, so that you will never be reduced to going without food, there will be something to eat every day, and the horses will gradually

gain strength. Do this; no need to lose temper with the karkun for nothing, or to say 'Give me this,' or 'give me that,' or violently to enter the store-room and seize things in it. Again, the men attached to the stables are probably living, and will live, in single rooms; some of them will make fires, some will make their *chullas* and cook in unsuitable places; some will take live coals to light their pipes with, without minding whether there is any grass lying about, or whether there is a breeze. Thus suddenly there will be an accident. When one room catches fire, all others will catch it and will be burnt down. If some spark falls from somewhere on a few blades of grass, all the grass will begin to burn. *Then* even if the heads of the peasants are cut off, or proper punishment is dealt to the karkuns, this will not bring one piece of wood to build a room with, and not a single room will be built. This is plain to everybody. Therefore, let due warning be given, and let the officers go round always, and see that there is no cooking or lighting of fires [at unsuitable places], or that a lamp is not kept burning at night, so that a mouse can come and take the burning wick with it. Let there be no accident from fire. See that the grass, the rooms, are safe. Then the horses will outlive the rainy season. In the other case it will not be necessary to tie the horses, not necessary to feed them, the establishment itself will be no more! And you will be free from all care! Therefore it is that I have written to you in so much detail. All the officers—Jumledars, and Havaldars and Karkuns—that there are, should hear this letter in every detail and act up to it. We shall keep ourselves informed frequently, even every day, and deal out punishment [where necessary]. He who will not behave according to this, who will behave wrongly, who will be found to blame, will, if he is a Maratha, not only lose his place, but be dishonoured; if a low-caste person, suffer still greater punishment. . . . . . . 12 Safar.(1)

[Rajwade, Vol. VIII, No. 28]

(5) Parnala-Parvata-Grahan-Akhyanam

[This poem was discovered in the famous Saraswati Mahal at Tanjore by Mr. S. M. Divekar, and was published by him in 1923 with an introduction and a Marathi translation. It consists of 5 chapters (Adhyayas) and about 350 stanzas. The colophon at the end of each chapter gives the name of the poet—Jayarama, and the name occurs also in the beginning of the first chapter, where the poet tells us how he returned to the court of Vyankoji, Shivaji's brother, after an absence of three years, and how he was asked by Vyankoji what he did during those three years, etc. That this Jayarama is the same as the author of the Radha-Madhava-Vilasa-Champu (above p. 22) is shown by the reference which the poet makes to his ability to compose verses in twelve languages.

The title of the poem is "The Capture of the Fort of Panhala(2)," but it makes reference to many other events from the sack of Surat (Oct. 1670) which, the poet says, took place soon after he left the court of Vyankoji,

(1) 8th May 1674.

(2) In March 1673.

to go and see Shivaji at Rajgad, up to and including the battle of Umrani (March or April 1673). It may be concluded, therefore, that the poet was absent from the court of Vyankoji from about the middle of 1670 to about the middle of 1673, and that the poem was composed about the end of 1673 or the beginning of 1674.

The work seems to have been composed in great haste, without much attention to grammar or form, so that one is inclined to call it verse rather than poetry. Perhaps it shows also the garrulity of old age; it is twenty years since the Radha-Madhava-Vilasa-Champu was composed, and perhaps the author has ceased to wield his pen with the same vigour as before.]

Chapter I.—[The poet says that he formerly composed a poem on the previous career of Shivaji, which Vyankoji and his father Shahaji heard with pleasure in the Gauri-Vilasa hall at Bangalore. Then Vyankoji says:]

"I have heard the previous history; tell me the recent one from the beginning; how you interviewed the king [Shivaji]; in what fort the Maharaj lives at present; what you did for three years after going from this place. I wish to hear all that: and you are indeed a great poet."

The poet replied:—

"I can compose verse in twelve languages. So, the interview which I had of the king at Rajgad after going from here—that, in the first place, I described in Marathi.

Then Shivaji looted Surat a second time. That I described in two languages—Marathi and Hindi.

Then in that very expedition, he unexpectedly captured the famous and holy fort of Tryambak.

Then he returned, after looting the city of Karanja, as Shri Krishna of yore looted the city of Bhagalpur.

That also have I done in two languages—Marathi and Hindustani. Then that fort, famed throughout the world, which in old times belonged to the Baggulas(1),—that top of the Sahyadri—[*i.e.*, the fort of Salher]—which was defended by numerous brave Moghuls, was taken by the valiant Maharaj from them. Then a violent struggle took place in the neighbourhood of Alam, Kuranga, and Tringalavatika.

And the Maharaj, your elder brother, took also Ahivant, Achalagiri, Markandeya, and Ravla-Javla, two fine and impregnable forts.

Also Chamundagad, Harischandragad, Mahishagad, and Adsargad were taken after strenuous fighting.

Then there is that great fort belonging to the Mussalmans, by name Jivdhan, which is to them like their very lives; that also was taken from them.

The ancient kingdom of the Kiratas, known as Jawhar, then held by king Vikrama, was taken by Shivaji after fighting.

So also he with the utmost ease took the famous Ramnagar belonging to Somshah." . . . .

(1) From whom Baglan is so-called.

Vyankoji asked :—

"How and why was that spacious fort, Panhala, belonging to our king(1), taken, in spite of the fact that there was peace between the latter and Shivaji ?. . . . . "

Chapter II. [One would now expect the poet to proceed at once to a description of the capture of Panhala ; but whether because he would not lose an opportunity of describing the prowess of Shivaji ; or because he thinks it necessary first to describe the general military situation when Panhala was taken ; or simply because of senile inconsequence ;—he first tells us in Chapter II how Aurangzib, exasperated at the result of the battle of Salher, censured his commanders, Bahadur Khan and Dilirkhan, and how these latter pointed out the difficulty of conquering Shivaji.]

A great fight took place with the Moghuls at the fort of Saleri. Hence the Emperor got angry with his men.

Then he sent them a letter to this effect : " Listen, Bahadur and Dilel and others, to my command. Why did you not die in battle at Saleri ? . . . . . That son of Shahaji has looted all my territory. . . . . . How can you, being near, look on at such a proceeding ? . . . .

How can the foolish Adilshah, yielding some territory to him and making friendship with him, sit quiet ?

The Kutub Shah also carried on his own head two or three lakhs of hons and gave them to him: . . . .

So why do not you all, and those others who are afraid of him, join together, and rush from all sides, and occupy his country, and besiege him ? When the whole country of that wicked fellow is occupied, what can he then do, sitting in his forts ? . . . ."

[Bahadur Khan and Dilirkhan reply that they must obey the order of their master, but there is something which must be considered :]

"We have something to say ; we request Your Majesty graciously to consider it. The enemy has got rooted, and he is also full of devices. . . . .

He by himself killed even the shrewd, powerful, valiant Afzal, the favourite of Adilshah. . . . .

[How he surprised Your Majesty's maternal uncle, Shaista Khan himself !]

All that Your Majesty has neither heard nor seen. But before Your Majesty himself, in the Darbar, there stood ten or twelve thousand fine horsemen, and still he, though unarmed, did not give up his haughtiness.

Consider, Your Majesty, how like a bird he escaped with his son, even though he was guarded ever so carefully.

It is this Shivaji, possessed of many guiles, whom we attack in fear at the command of Your Majesty.

Then he holds all paths, so that even a bird may not escape by these narrow mountain tracks. So even if a hundred thousand of our excellently trained horse. . . . . . are led close (to these mountain forts) what can they do ?

(1) Vyankoji is a servant of Bijapur.

Then among the Deccanis who have been on Your Majesty's side from old times, the most prominent is the powerful Jadhvrai; he, who is Shivaji's maternal uncle's son, together with his army, and also the valiant Habsi Siddi Hilal;—both of these have left Nasik through fear of Your Majesty. . . . . . .

As a flame which has started within one's coat stops not till it has burnt down the whole body, so these two, fostered by Your Majesty, who are now staying in Shivaji's forts, will certainly injure us, like hissing serpents."

[Bahadurkhan and Dilirkhan had sent an envoy to Shivaji for negotiations, but when Shivaji sent his own envoy to them, they imprisoned him in fort Parenda.]

Chapter III. Vyankoji asked :—

" What did my elder brother do after this ? Tell me from the beginning how the peace was broken."

The poet replied :—

Is it not notorious that this Khawaskhan of yours has usurped all this, even the harem of his master which is within the walls ? Then the righteous Shivaji, your elder brother, thought to himself, and other wise men also saw, that " the career of this wicked Khawaskhan is leading his kingdom to destruction. When Adilshah placed his own little son on the throne, Khawaskhan was made his minister. Then he, winning over Aurangzib and Kutubshah by presents, and without consulting old Sardars, usurped the power of the Padshah himself. That Bijapur, which the wise Maharaj [Shahaji] saved, is being ruined by this black-faced Siddi. So we had better take that great city ourselves and then restore it to his son ; otherwise it will perish."

[Then Shivaji ordered Anandrao to " press out " the territories of Aurangzib and also Kutubshah " like a sugarcane ", and recalled his ambassador Babaji Naik from Bijapur.]

When that skilful ambassador arrived in the neighbourhood, Shivaji immediately despatched Anajipant with an army. After him was sent the famous Kondaji. . . . . . . The powerful Ganaji and Motyaji Ravlekar Mama also were given suitable presents, and sent with select men.

[They started with full equipment, reached Panhala at dead of a dark night[1], and scaled the wall. The watchmen were dozing, and not much fighting was necessary. The Killedar was killed by Kondaji, and the fort was easily occupied. Anajipant who had stayed outside the fort with the reserve, came up, and a messenger was sent to Shivaji with the happy news. The messenger reached Raigad in two days, and the next day Shivaji started for Panhala[2].]

Chapter IV [describes Shivaji's journey to Panhala].

Chapter V [describes the battle of Umrani. Bahlol and other ministers blame Khawaskhan for the loss of Panhala, for, they say, he has lost the friendship of Shivaji.]

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(1) It was the 13th day of the dark half of Phalgun, according to the Jedhe Chronology,

(2) This is confirmed by the Jedhe Chronology.

"We hear that in the Hindu Shastras it has been said that there will be a tenth *Avatar* of Vishnu called Kalki, and that he will destroy the host of Yavanas spread everywhere. It seems to us that Shivaji is the harbinger of that very Kalki, come in advance, since he has begun to destroy us.

How many of our warriors, like Afzal and others have been destroyed by him! And again he destroys others every day. And O! The condition to which he reduced the great Moghul leader Shaistakhan with his son, after overpowering them! . . . . . Can we find any one who came out successful after fighting with him? Only to Jay Sinha, because he belonged to the same community as himself, did he give some semblance of victory, by ceding his forts. But as a fish is taken by tying a bait to the hook, so has he conquered the forts of the Moghuls also. There, near one of the forts of the Sahyadri, there was a famous fight(1). There my brother(2) was captured together with his friends. Others, too, Muhakam Sing and the rest, were tied by one chain on the foot like elephants; there Amara Sinha also was killed with his men. . . . ."

[Khawaskhan admits that he has been at fault, and throws himself and the young Padshah on the protection of the ministers. It is then decided that Bahlolkhan should lead the army against the Marathas. He starts, and comes first to Tikota]. . . . . . .

Thus in two days he came to the neighbourhood of Umrani; just then a letter came [from Bijapur] to this effect:

"Muzaffar Malik, with Sarjakhan, is with his army in the neighbourhood of Rangna. Enlist the help of that powerful man. Similarly there are three other commanders—Siddi Masood, posted in Adoni; Abdul Aziz of Karnool; and Khizrkhan, called Pani, this side of Naladurg. These three should at once meet Dilirkhan, with a view to buy up, as it were, another spirited army; they should give him bribes, etc., and ask for an army. Bringing that army, and also their own, with them, they should come and help Bahlol. This messenger has been specially sent for this business only. . . . . "

[Shivaji from Panhala despatches Prataprao and Anandrao with their armies to attack Bahlolkhan while he has yet not been joined by the others. They make a forced march, and come up to the place whence the enemy gets his water.]

Then all consulted together; some besieged the tank; Siddi Hilal occupied the van of the army; behind him, at a distance of two miles, stood Vithoji Shinda; Krishnaji Bhaskar and Vithal Pildev stood ready on the two flanks of the enemy army; Viso Ballal kept going all round.

The enemy, surrounded by elephants, were all unconscious of this; when the elephants, escorted by some soldiers, went to drink water, then they saw that the army was surrounded by the enemy.

[Prataprao then assaults the enemy, who is taken by surprise. The confusion is increased by an elephant getting wild and striding through the battle-field. Anandrao, Siddi Hilal, Rupaji Bhonsle, Samji Mohite,

(1) The reference is to Salher. (2) Ikhlaskhan. See Sarkar's *Shivaji*, p. 217.

Sidhoji Nimbalkar, Vithoji Shinde and others are mentioned as distinguishing themselves. Sidhoji Nimbalkar captures the elephant. When Muhammad Barki fell, Bahlolkhan gave in and went off by the way pointed out by Prataprao. His camp was looted by Krishnaji Bhaskar].

(6) The Coronation

Then one Gagabhat having heard of the king's fame came from Benares to have an interview with him. Gagabhat was a stern and pious ascetic, and a competent scholar, and had studied the four Vedas and six Shastras. He was also conversant with astrology and practised the Yoga. In fact he was expert in every science so that he may justly be styled the Brahmadeva of the Kaliyuga. On his arrival the king walked a few paces to meet him on the way and received him with the greatest honours. He worshiped him in a variety of ways with offerings of jewels, ornaments, palanquins, horses, elephants and immense treasure. Gagabhat was highly pleased. He was rather uneasy that while the Mahomedan Emperor sat on the throne under the umbrella, king Shivaji, who had overawed the governments of the four Emperors and possessed seventy-five thousand cavalry and infantry, forts and strong-holds, should have no throne and other insignia of honour enjoyed by the Mussalman Emperors. He therefore expressed his opinion that the Maratha king should use all those insignia. The king approved of it. All the principal men were consulted and they also concurred in the opinion and liked the idea. The king's genealogy was then traced and it was found that he was the descendant of the pure Kshatriya family of Sisodia which had come from the north and settled in the south; and as the Kshatriyas of the north were allowed the rite of using the sacred thread, Gagabhat performed the thread ceremony of the king at a holy place and thus made him a pure Kshatriya. On this occasion large sums were given away in charity. Fifty thousand Brahmins well versed in the Vedas came from the home provinces as well as from foreign territories and various holy places. All of them were invited to stay; every day sumptuous dinners were given to them. A golden throne weighing 32 maunds was made and inlaid with the choicest and most precious jewels of the nine kinds that could be procured from the treasury. The fort of Rairi where the throne was placed was named "Raigad". Waters from the seven great rivers as well as other considerable rivers, and of the seas, and of renowned holy places, were brought. Jars of gold were made. It was settled that the eight ministers should pour water on the Raja from the eight jars. Then on a propitious day, which was the 13th of the bright fortnight of Jyeshtha in the Shalivahan year 1596 known as the "Anand" Samvatsar the king performed the auspicious ablution, and having worshipped Shri Mahadev, Bhavani, Balambhat the son of his household priest Prabhakarbhat, Gagabhat, and other illustrious Brahmins and holy persons with offering of ornaments and clothes, bowed to them and mounted the golden stool to be crowned. The eight ministers and illustrious Brahmins then coronated him, sprinkling over his head the

sacred waters brought by them from different sacred places and filled in golden jugs. The king then put on resplendent clothes and ornaments, repeatedly bowed to all the worshipful persons, and sat on the throne. Lotus flowers made of gold, and clothes were distributed in large numbers. The sixteen great gifts were also made. The throne was adorned with eight pillars decked with jewels. The eight ministers were to stand by them. All the ceremonies and rites prescribed by the Shastras and performed on the occasion of the coronation of illustrious monarchs of old times, *viz.*, of the Krita, Treta, Dwapar and Kali ages, were observed on this occasion. The eight ministers stood by the eight pillars. They were :—

1. Moro Trimbak, Peshwa, or Chief Minister.
2. Naro Nilkant and Ramchandra Nilkant Muzumdars who were styled "Amatya."
3. Annaji Datto Surnis who was styled "Sachiv."
4. Dattaji Trimbak Waknis who was styled "Mantri."
5. Ramchandrapant, the son of Trimbak Sondev Dabir who was styled "Sumant."
6. Niraji Raoji styled "Nyayadhish."
7. The son of Raghunathpant Panditrao who was styled "Danadhyaksha."
8. Hambirrao Mohite "Senapati."

The eight ministers had these eight Sanskrit names assigned to them. They stood at their respective places. Bal Prabhu Chitnis and Nil Prabhu Parasnis, and the agents of the eight Pradhans, and the officers of the household, and all other functionaries also stood in their respective places. A parasol adorned with jewels and fringes of pearl was held over the king. The appellation of Chhatrapati was then assumed by him and in correspondence and other transactions a new era came to be used since the date of his coronation. Fifty thousand Brahmins learned in the Vedas had assembled. Besides there assembled ascetics, recluses, mendicants, Jogis, Jangams, Manbhavs, and Jatadharis of various denominations. All of them were given sweets and grain for four months. When given leave, they were presented with money, ornaments and clothes according to their deserts. Gagabhat, the chief priest, especially received immense treasure and costly presents. The whole expenditure on account of this coronation ceremony amounted to one crore and forty-two thousand hons. The eight ministers received a lac of hons each, besides one elephant, horse, clothes and ornaments. Thus the Raja ascended the throne. Hitherto in this age mlechha[1] Emperors ruled over the earth, but now this was the first Maratha king that assumed the dignity of Emperor, an event of no ordinary importance.

[Sabhasad, pp. 82-84. Mankar's translation, adapted]

[1] Non-Hindu, barbarran.

VIII.—THE KARNATAK EXPEDITION

(i) The Karnatak Expedition

The king then intended to capture the Karnatak territory lying between the rivers Tungabhadra and Kaveri. He resolved to go in person as he thought that if he entrusted the task to his army, a longer time would be taken. He was however afraid that Bahadurkhan who was stationed at Pedgaon might harass his territory in his absence. So he sent Nirajipant Nyayadhish to him with a present of treasure, ornaments and precious jewels. A secret friendship was formed with him. "I shall require one year to conquer the Karnatak; do not molest my territories during that time." So he was told and kept at his station. With a chosen army composed of 25,000 horsemen and with Sarkarkuns Raghunath Narayan and Janardan Narayan who were familiar with the Karnatak territory he started. Moropant Peshwa, the Surnis, Waknis and other forces were kept for the defence of the country. He then began to consider the best means of raising funds for the invasion of the Karnatak as it was his intention not to touch his treasury for this purpose. There was no doubt, he thought, immense treasure in the Bhaganagar State but then as that State paid an annual tribute, any harsh measure adopted to raise funds from that quarter would not be justifiable. It was therefore better to form friendship with the Padshah of the State who would then do all that was required. Accordingly he wrote to Pralhadpant, the envoy at the Bhaganagar court, informing him of his intention to have an interview with the Padshah. Padshah Tanashah to whom Pralhadpant communicated the contents of the letter became apprehensive. He said: "It is not desirable to have an interview with the king. He treacherously killed Afzalkhan, defeated Shaistakhan, went to Delhi and exhibited his valour to the Emperor Alamgir. What shall I do if some similar untoward thing happens? I am rather prepared to grant him whatever he demands." Pralhadpant with solemn oaths and pledges assured the Padshah, and Akannapant, and Madannapant his ministers, of the king's good intentions and convinced them that there was no harm if the interview was granted, which, he said, the king sought as a friend of the Emperor.

Pralhadpant informed the king accordingly. The interview was arranged. The king then with his army advanced towards Bhaganagar and by forced marches arrived within its precincts. Here he issued instructions to his army not to touch even the most insignificant thing belonging to the subjects of that Government. Some had to pay with their heads for transgression. Whatever things were required were purchased from the bazars. When the Emperor learnt that the king's forces entered the precincts of his Government without making any depredations he was much pleased and he thought of coming a few miles ahead to receive the king. The king, who was a great politician, sent him a message, adjuring him not to come, for the Padshah was to him like an elder brother and himself was like a younger

brother to the Padshah. This message pleased the Padshah very much. And Madannapant and Akannapant, . . . the real masters of the whole State, came forward and led the king into the city. While entering the city the king's forces were all dressed in rich garments. It was on an auspicious day that he entered the town for the interview with the Padshah. The Padshah beautified the whole city. The streets were all sprinkled over with saffron water and adorned with flower garlands. Banners and flags waved to and fro. The citizens stood by millions to have a glimpse of the king. The women in the city waved platters containing burning lamps in the king's face, and bowed to him. Gold and silver flowers were sprinkled over the king. The king gave the people in return immense treasure and clothes and arrived at the Dad Mahal with the whole army. Then he sent a message to the Padshah, adjuring him not to come down as he himself was coming upstairs. The Padshah accordingly remained in his palace. The king stationed his men well armed below and ascended the flight of steps leading to the palace. The king was accompanied by Janardanpant, Pralhadpant, Sonaji Naik, and Babaji Dhamdhere. He entered the palace. The Padshah came forward to meet him. Both embraced each other and then seated themselves. There were in the palace Madannapant, Akannapant, Janardanpant, Pralhadpant, Sonaji Naik and Babaji Dhamdhere besides the king and the Padshah. Madannapant took his seat; all the others remained standing. The king and the Padshah were the best of friends: they talked a good deal on a variety of topics. The wives of the Padshah were struck with astonishment when they beheld the king from behind the curtains. The Emperor was also pleased. For three hours he listened to the king who narrated to him his own exploits. After presenting several ornaments decked with jewels, clothes, elephants and horses to the king, and to his attendants, he gave them leave to depart. The Emperor escorted the king as far as the bottom of the flight of steps leading to the palace and then they separated. The king then with Raghunath Narayan Dabir, Hambirrao and other Sardars whom he had stationed below and with his army returned to his quarters. On his way back he distributed coins to the townspeople. After the king's departure the Padshah was satisfied. He said: "The king is honest; he protected me, and kept his word." He praised Pralhadpant for his honesty and gave him several presents and sent him to the king.

The next day Madannapant invited the king to an entertainment at his house. The dinner was prepared by Madannapant's mother. The king, Madannapant and Akannapant dined together. All other men of the king's party were also fed. Then after presents of ornaments, clothes, elephants and horses the king was allowed to return to his quarters. The Padshah summoned Madannapant, and the two settled that the king should be satisfied by giving him whatever he required and then given leave. Then on an auspicious day the Padshah invited the king again to an interview. He presented him with an immense treasure, ornaments inlaid with precious stones and jewels, innumerable elephants and horses. The two Chhatrapatis sat on the terrace of the

palace and received the salutes of all the Sarkarkuns, Hambirrao and other Sardars, and the Padshah presented them all with ornaments, clothes, elephants and horses according to their deserts. The Padshah then said—" I expect you to help me on every occasion. The tribute payable every year will be regularly paid." The king then with oath promised his co-operation and he was allowed to take his departure; the Padshah asked that Pralhadpant might always be detained by the king at his court as his representative and envoy. The king then returned to his quarters.

........He then led his army towards Chandi taking with him all the presents received in the Bhaganagar State. He reached the sacred shrine of Shri Shailya. He bathed in the waters of the river Nilganga and offered his devotions at the shrine. The king was charmed with the delightful scenery. He compared it to Kailas; so pleasant it appeared to him. He thought of offering himself—his head—in sacrifice at the shrine. Then the goddess Bhavani appeared in him and said—" To you salvation cannot come in this way. Do not therefore do it. I have many things still to accomplish through you." So saying the goddess disappeared. When the king came to consciousness these words of the Goddess were communicated to him by the karkuns. The king then abandoned the idea of self-sacrifice.

He then proceeded to conquer the Karnatak and with this view laid siege to Chandi. Rupulkhan and Nasirkhan, the sons of Khankhanan the Bijapur Vazir, were in Chandi. Negotiations were opened with them, assurances of safety were given, and they were induced to leave the place. After their departure Chandi was taken. Sherkhan, another Bijapur Vazir, and a valiant soldier, was in Trivadi Mahal with 5,000 cavalry, elephants, and immense treasure. He attacked the king and in the battle that ensued his forces were completely routed and he himself captured. 5,000 horses and 12 elephants were taken. Immense treasure fell into the hands of the king. Thus was Trivadi Mahal captured.

King Vyankaji the younger brother of Shivaji was then reigning at Tanjore. He came with his karkuns to see the Raja. Brother met brother. Kakajipant Peshwa, Ekoji(1) Raja's karkun, and Konher Mahadeo Muzumdar also saw Shivaji. So did Jagannathpant, son of Vyankoji Datto, and the whole army, and Bhivji Raje and Pratapji Raje, natural sons of the late Maharaj.(2) There was great rejoicing. The two brothers entertained each other as guests, and made immense presents to each other. They were together for eight days. The king then addressed Vyankaji in the following terms: " Since I obtained our sire's leave and proceeded to Poona I acquired a large kingdom and made great name for myself. Now our father's twelve *biruds*(3) are in your possession, and you have been using them. I am, however, the elder son and have also distinguished myself more than you. I therefore expect you to hand over the *biruds* to me, so that I may use them. It is not difficult to make new ones for myself but I am anxious to have these because they belonged to our father." But Vyankaji

(1) Vyankoji. (2) Shahaji. (3) Badges.

took it amiss and would not yield them. His officers and karkuns roused the fear in his mind that the king might pick a quarrel with him and take the badges by force of arms. This terrified Vyankaji who in consequence ran away at night with the badges.

The next day the king learnt of Vyankaji's flight. He was surprised, and said, "Why has he fled? Was I going to imprison him? What have I to do with those badges? My badges are there in all the eight directions. My fame has spread over the sea-girt earth. What need, then, of badges? But as they were used by my sire I wished to have them. If my brother wanted not to part with them he was at liberty not to do so. It was not necessary for him to have thus run away. Younger as he is he has given proof of an understanding worthy of his age." The king's men found some of Vyankaji's karkuns and sardars who were running and brought them to the king who gave them all presents of clothes, ornaments and horses and sent them to his brother at Tanjore. Santaji Raje, a natural son of the late Maharaj, and a brave, valiant man, then came to see the king. They met. Santaji was given a command of one thousand horse in the Karnatak and was granted allowance in land and money. Then after presents of elephants, horses, clothes and ornaments Santaji took his departure.

At this time there was a station of the Adilshahi Government in the fort of Vellore. This fort had no equal in the world. Round the fort was a ditch of natural water. The water in the ditch was bottomless and there were in it ten thousand alligators. The ramparts were so strong and wide that two carriages could be driven on them side by side. ...... Such was the fort. The king laid siege to this fort and captured it. He took several other forts, built new ones, and conquered a territory yielding 12 lakhs of hons. Chandi was a place well-suited to be a capital, like Bijapur and Bhaganagar. The king might have stayed there. But there was a vast kingdom on the other side also, and it was necessary to protect it. So he appointed Raghunath Narayan as Muzumdar and stationed him at Chandi with a force under Hambirrao Sarnobat; and himself started from Chandi with the two Sardars Anandrao and Manaji More together with their armies. He came up the Ghats, took the forts of Kolhar and Balapur, took possession of the country, built some new forts, destroyed the turbulent Palegars, and appointed karkun Rango Narayan as Sarsubhedar and made over this territory also to the management of Raghunath Narayan. He stationed Manaji More with his army in the Kolhar territory and having taken Anandrao with him proceeded to Koppal and thence to Lakshmeshwar. Thence he marched by stages to the district of Sampgaon. There was a fort called Balwada.(1) It was commanded by a lady, the Desain. She carried off the transport bullocks of the Raja's army. Seeing this, he laid siege to Balwada, captured the fort, took prisoner the Desain, and punished her. The king then returned to the fort of Panhala and made an inquisition into the state of the kingdom. Then every one knew that he had

(1) Belvadi, 30 miles S. E. of Belgaum.

come. Nirajipant who had been left with Bahadurkhan as the king's representative returned with presents of clothes and jewels from the Khan and had an interview with him.

King Vyankaji having learnt that Hambirrao Sarnobat and Raghunath Narayan Muzumdar were stationed in the Karnatak, collected his forces and those of the Palegars, and attacked Hambirrao. At that time Vyankaji Raja's forces—his innumerable cavalry and infantry—were four times as strong as those of Hambirrao. A bloody battle ensued. By virtue of the king's righteousness and good luck Hambirrao defeated Vyankaji, and captured 40,000 of his horses, elephants, and jewels, as also Bhivji Raje, Pratapji Raje and many other men of note. Such was the victory. Great fame was won. Those leaders who were captured alive were presented with clothes and allowed to depart. Raghunathpant and Hambirrao then proceeded with their armies to Tanjore. King Vyankaji then interposed a respectable man for negotiating peace. The generals communicated the facts to their master. The king sent them the following reply: "Vyankaji Raje is my younger brother. He acted like a child. Still he is my brother. Protect him; do not ruin his kingdom."

The leaders then made peace with king Vyankaji. Then Raghunathpant sent Hambirrao with the army to Shivaji, and himself put together 10 to 12,000 horsemen and infantry, and remained in the Karnatak for its defence.

[Sabhasad, pp. 85-93. Mankar's translation, adapted]

(ii) Shivaji's letter to Vyankoji

Blessings of Shivaji Raje to Ekoji Raje. Know that all is well with us here, and pray write the same to us about yourself. It is now thirteen years since the late Saheb [Shahaji] died. Raghunathpant then placed you on the throne and gave the whole kingdom into your hands,—the Maharaja's treasure, jewels, elephants, horses, territory, and everything. So for thirteen years you yourself enjoyed the half which was my share. As for demanding that share from you, I was far away. I waited for thirteen years because I knew that you are not a man to yield it without making trouble. I thought to myself, "Well, he too is the Maharaja's son. Let him enjoy it as long as he does. He too is after all a rightful master of the thing. When it is convenient I shall put forward my claim and take it." This was all the while in my mind. Then I came to Bhaganagar to see the Kutubshah on some diplomatic business; thence I went into the Karnatak and came to Chandi. I took Chandi and the territory about Vellore, defeated Sherkhan in a battle and destroyed him. I took all the territory which was in Sherkhan's hands. Then by several marches I came to the bank of the Kaveri. From there I wrote letters to you, asking you in many ways to send to me such able men as Govindbhat Gosavi, and Kakajipant, and Niloba Naik, and Rangoba Naik, and Timaji Yakshiyarrao. Accordingly you sent these men to us. In various ways I urged my claim in a friendly manner before these men and sent them with the message that the half of my share should be handed over to me without making any trouble. With them I sent also

three good men from my side, *viz.*, Balambhat Gosavi and Krishna Jotisi and Krishnaji Sekhji. These good men saw you and advised you variously not to create discord within the family, and to hand over to me the half of my share which I had been demanding. But you planned this deception in your mind: "I have now become a great chief. I shall go and see him personally, and carry myself very humbly before him, and then withhold his share." You enjoyed the whole principality for thirteen years. You conceived the idea of continuing to enjoy the whole of it in future also, and so, without making any settlement about the share, you came to see me personally. Then we two met each other. Then in many ways did I say to you, "Give me my share." But you would not even entertain the thought of yielding it. Then it became necessary [to take harsh measures]. But that you, being a younger brother, should of yourself come to see me, and that I should then seize you and demand my share—this was not a thing befitting my position and reputation. So I gave you leave to go to Tanjore. You went to Tanjore. Thereupon I thought "It is not good to promote internal discord; by doing that, of old, the Pandavas and the Kauravas came to much grief"; remembering that whole story of the Mahabharata, and knowing well that internal discord would lead both parties to grief I again told you in various ways through Shamji Naik, and Konheripant, and Shivaji Shankar: "Let us make a division and take our respective shares, and live with goodwill towards each other." But you, like Duryodhana, intended evil, and were determined not to come to any arrangement, but to fight. Then I had some urgent business on the Raigad side; so I left Santaji Raje, and Raghunathpant and Hambirrao there and myself rode off to Torgal. There I received the news, that, listening to the advice of the Mussalmans, and thinking of fighting with my men, you had collected all your troops, and sent them against my men; that they came to Walgondpur; that on their advance, there was a stubborn fight between your men and mine; that your men were defeated, Pratapji Raje, Bhivji Raje, and Shivaji Dabir were made prisoners, several killed, and a great many put to a precipitate flight. Such was the news I received. When I heard it I thought it strange that you, being the son of the late Maharaja, and a person of note, should yet not think at all of what you do, or have any consideration of right and wrong. That being so, what wonder if you come to grief? You will ask, "What was I to think?" Well, you ought to have thought, "If for thirteen years I unjustly enjoyed the whole principality, what is done is done; now he demands his share; it is right I gave it to him, and lived happily myself." You ought to have thought like that. Secondly, you ought to have thought, "He has won the full favour of the gods. He destroys the wicked Mussalmans. When my army is full of Mussalmans, what hope can I have of victory, and the Mussalmans of surviving?" This also you ought to have thought, and you ought to have stopped short of the step of going to war. But you thought in the same way as Duryodhana, made war, and caused many men to be slain. Well, what is done is done. For the future at least do not be obstinate. If for thirteen years you enjoyed the whole principality, that is now past. Now, some places

I have already taken. Others, which are still in your hands,—*viz.*, Arni, Bangalore, Kolar, Hoskot, Siralkot, and other minor places, and Tanjore,—should be handed over to our men ; and of the cash, jewellery, elephants, and horses, half should be given to me as my share. You will be wise to make such arrangement with me. If you do so with a clean mind, I shall give you a jagir of 3 lakhs of hons in the district of Panhala, this side of the Tungabhadra, to be held under myself. Or if you do not like to hold a jagir under me, I shall make an application to the Kutubshah and procure for you a jagir of three lakhs under him. Both alternatives I have suggested to you. One of them you should consider and accept. Do not leave it to be decided by obstinacy. There is no reason why we should quarrel between ourselves and come to grief. Now at least resolve that there should be a peaceful arrangement between us, and settle this business of the shares, and live happily. Family discord is not a good thing. I have been telling you so up to now, as becomes an elder person, and I tell you so now. If you listen to it, well and good ; you will be happy ; if you do *not* listen, the repentance will be yours only. How can I help it ?"

IX.—LAST YEARS AND DEATH

(1) The king then with his whole army laid siege to Jalnapur, pillaged the town and took immense treasure, gold, silver, jewels, cloth, elephants, camels and horses. Rustumkhan the Moghul leader now attacked the king; Sidhoji Nimbalkar the leader of 5,000 men of the king's army fought with him for three days. Rustumkhan was taken captive. In the meanwhile a reinforcement of 20,000 men under Kesarsingh and Sardarkhan and other nobles came to his assistance and halted at a distance of about six miles. Kesarsingh secretly sent a message to the king informing him that he was well-disposed towards him, but desiring him at the same time to march off so long as he (Kesarsingh) had not encountered him. After receipt of this message the king started. It was arranged that the army should go by the Jadgiri route. At this time Bahirji, a scout, came forward saying that he would take the army to their place in safety without encountering the Moghuls, and asking the king not to be in anxiety on that account. By strenuous exertions through three nights, without taking rest by day or night, he at last brought the army in safety to Pattagad. The king was pleased with him. The money due from him was written off and other rewards were also given to him. The king then leisurely led the army to Purandhar.

[Sabhasad, pp. 93-4, Mankar's translation, adapted]

(2) After a few days the Raja became ill of fever. He was a righteous man, and could see into the future. He thought, and knew that his life's end had come; so he summoned these respectable and good men from among his karkuns and servants, *viz.*—

Karkuns.—Nilopant, son of the Pradhan; Pralhadpant; Gangadharpant, son of Janardanpant; Ramchandra Nilkanth; Raoji Somnath; Abaji Mahadeo; Jotirao; Balprabhu Chitnis.

Servants.—Hiroji Farzand; Babaji Ghadge; Baji Kadam; Mudhoji Sarakhwas; Suryaji Malusre; Mahadji Naik Pansambal.

He summoned these principal men near him and said, "The end of my life has come. I go to Kailas to see the gods. Feeling that my body was becoming weaker, I had said to my elder son Sambhaji Raje 'You two are my sons. I shall divide the kingdom between you, and you two should live in amity.' But Sambhaji, my elder son, did not listen to it. Now my end seems to be near. I, Shivaji, raised a kingdom of one crore of hons on the basis of the district of Poona, a district of 40,000 hons. I acquired all these forts, and strongholds, and this cavalry and horse. But a son capable of protecting this after me I do not see. Perhaps if the younger, Rajaram, lives, he is one who will extend this kingdom. The elder, Sambhaji, is capable, but is frivolous and not far-sighted. What, then, is to be done? I for one am departing. You, Maratha karkuns and servants, have been for a long time in this kingdom. It is as well that you know these things. After me Sambhaji will seize the whole kingdom with power [etc., a prophecy of what will happen up to the time of Rajaram.]" Thus spoke the Raja. Everyone's throat

was choked, and tears began to flow from everyone's eyes. A great sorrow came over them. Then the king said "Do not be bewildered. After all this is a mortal world. Many were born before this, but they have all passed away. You should all remain with clear, happy minds. Now sit outside, all of you. Let me meditate on God." With these words he made all sit outside. And he had the water of the Bhagirathi brought, and bathed in it. Then he applied holy ashes to the body, and put on the rudraksha.(1) Then by a feat of Yoga, he carried his soul to Brahmanda, and made it depart by bursting open the ten gates (of the body). The Raja passed away at Raigad at noon, on Sunday, Chaitra Shuddha 15, of the Shalivahana year 1602,(2) of the name Raudra.

[Sabhasad, pp. 103-105]

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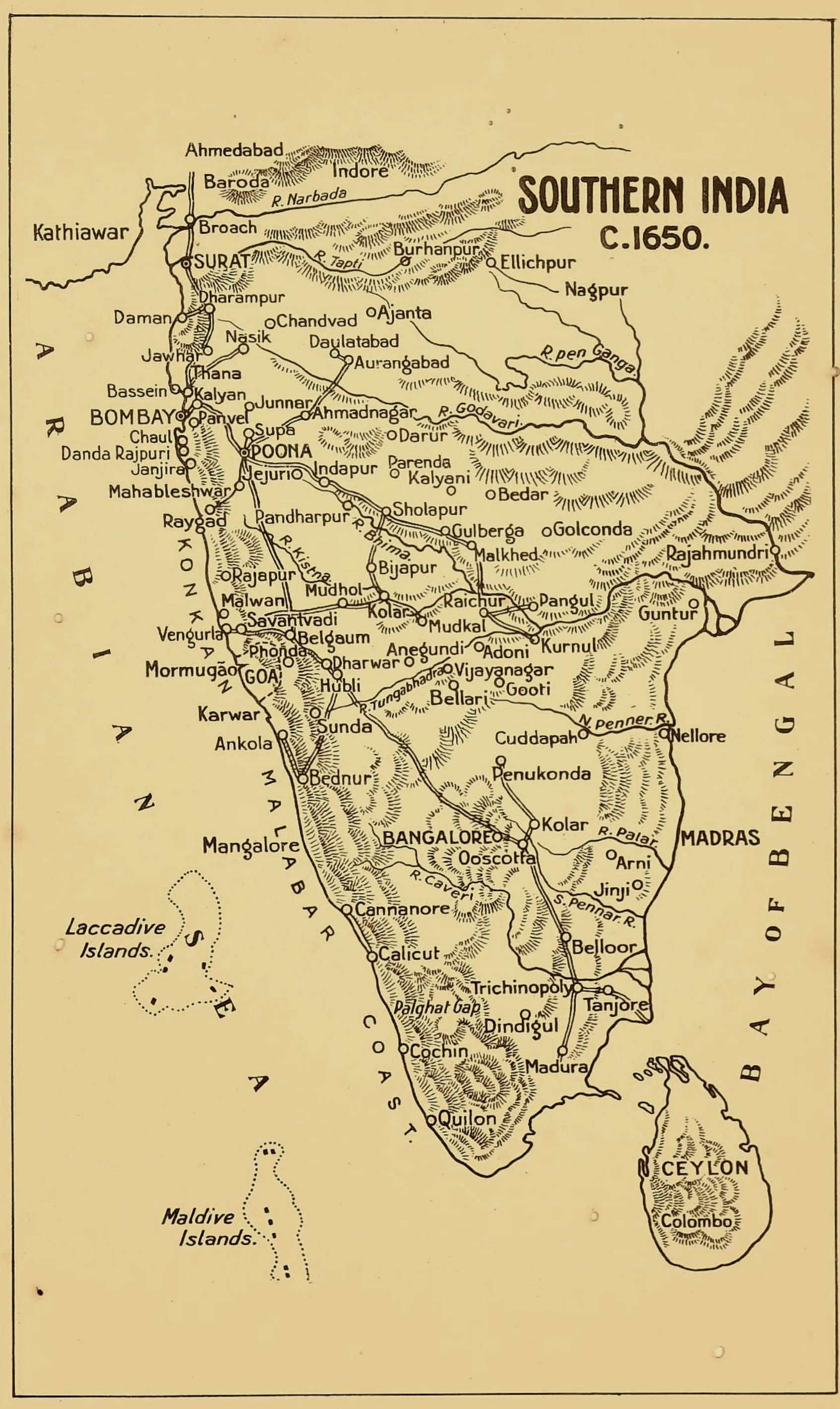
(1) The fruit of a tree sacred to Shiva, and used in making rosaries, etc.

(2) 3rd March 1680. Chaitra Shudha 15, 1602, is a Saturday. The Jedhe Chronology gives it correctly.



SOUTHERN INDIA
C.1650.
Ahmedabad
Baroda
Indore
R. Narbada
Kathiawar
Broach
SURAT
R. Tapti
Burhanpur
Ellichpur
Nagpur
Dharampur
Daman
Chandvad
Ajanta
Nasik
Daulatabad
Jawhar
Aurangabad
R. pen Ganga
Thana
Bassein
Kalyan
Junnar
BOMBAY
Panvel
Ahmadnagar
R. Godavari
Chaul
Supa
Darur
Danda Rajpuri
POONA
Janjira
Jejuri
Indapur
Parenda
Kalyani
Mahableshwar
Bedar
Raygad
Pandharpur
Sholapur
Gulberga
Golconda
R. Bhima
R. Kistna
Malkhed
Rajahmundri
Rajapur
Bijapur
Mudhol
Malwan
Kolar
Raichur
Pangul
Guntur
Savantvadi
Mudkal
Vengurla
Belgaum
Phonda
Anegundi
Adoni
Kurnul
Mormugão
GOA
Dharwar
Vijayanagar
Hubli
R. Tungabhadra
Gooti
Bellari
Karwar
Sunda
N. Penner R.
Ankola
Cuddapah
Nellore
Bednur
Penukonda
Kolar
BANGALORE
R. Palar
MADRAS
Mangalore
Ooscotta
Arni
R. Caveri
Jinji
S. Pennar R.
Cannanore
Laccadive Islands.
Calicut
Belloor
Trichinopoly
Tanjore
Palghat Gap
Dindigul
Cochin
Madura
Quilon
CEYLON
Colombo
Maldive Islands.
ARABIAN SEA
KONKAN
MALABAR COAST
BAY OF BENGAL

Part II

FOREIGN SOURCES

BY

H. G. RAWLINSON, M.A., I.E.S.

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PREFACE TO PART II

The following pages contain a selection from the chief foreign accounts, Persian, English, French, Italian and Portuguese, written by contemporary writers, relating to Shivaji and his exploits. In dealing with the vast mass of available material, I have endeavoured to select those writers who seemed to me to be most representative from their respective points of view. For permission to use William Irvine's translation of Niccolao Manucci's *Storia do Mogor* and the fine contemporary portrait of Shivaji, I have to thank Messrs. John Murray, and for the translation from Barthélemy Carré I am greatly indebted to the kindness of Professor Surendranath Sen of Calcutta University, whose brilliant work on the Marathas is well known to all scholars. One important omission requires explanation. I have refrained from including, except in one instance, letters from the English and Dutch Factory Records, as I understand that these will form the subject of a separate monograph which is being prepared by Dr. Balkrishna of the Rajaram College, under the patronage of the Kolhapur Darbar. Mrs. Kabraji has kindly prepared the Index. The spelling of proper names (Sivaji, Shivaji, Seeva-gee, etc.) shews considerable divergency, as I have kept the form found in the original authorities quoted.

H. G. RAWLINSON.

I.—KHAFI KHAN'S ACCOUNT OF SIVAJI

[Khafi Khan was the son of an officer of Murad Baksh, who, after that Prince's murder, passed over to Aurangzeb's service. He was probably connected with several natives of Khaf who had held the post of Collector of Customs at Surat: at any rate, he was well acquainted with Western India, and had conducted an embassy to Bombay in 1694. His *Muntakhabu'l Lulab* is a history of the Moghuls from the invasion of Babar (1519 A. D.) to the fourteenth year of Muhammad Shah (1733 A. D.) It was thus written half a century after Sivaji's death; but there is no doubt that it is largely compiled from personal knowledge and diligent enquiries among the actors in the great events of his time. In consequence of the Emperor's prohibition, complete histories of the reign are very rare: this renders the present work invaluable. One of Khafi Khan's chief merits is his studious attempt at impartiality. He had access to official documents open to few others, and he makes admirable use of his information. It is true that he writes from the official point of view. To him, Sivaji is a rebel against the Empire, and he describes the Afzal Khan affair as murder pure and simple. But on the other hand, he pays a handsome tribute to the great Maratha leader's chivalry; and he is our authority for the statement that Sivaji strictly forbid his followers to do any harm to "Mosques, the Book of God, or women."]

Sivaji murders Afzal Khán Bijápuri.

When Sikandar 'Ali 'Adil Khán came to years of discretion, and took the government into his own hands, he wrote letters to Sivaji, but without effect. He then sent Afzal Khán with a large army to chastise the rebel. Afzal Khán was one of 'Adil Khán's most distinguished and courageous officers, and he pressed Sivaji hard. The truculent rebel, knowing that he could gain nothing by regular warfare, artfully sent some of his people to express his repentance, and to beg forgiveness of his offences. After some negotiation, the deceitful Bráhmans made an agreement that Sivaji should come to wait upon Afzal Khán at a certain place under his fortress with only three or four servants and entirely without arms. Afzal Khán likewise was to proceed in a *pálki*, with four or five servants and without arms, to the place agreed upon under the fort. After Sivaji had paid his respects, and verbal agreements had been made, he was to receive a *khil'at*(1) and then be dismissed. When Afzal Khán had taken the proffered tribute and *peshkash*,(2) Sivaji was to entertain him, and speed him on his way back to Bijápúr,. or rather he would attend him thither in person upon an assurance of reconciliation.

The designing rascal, by sending various presents and fruits of the country, and by his humbleness and submission, conciliated Afzal Khán, who fell into the snare, believing all his false deceiving statements, and

(1) A robe of honour. (2) A present.

observing none of that caution which the wise commend. Without arms he mounted the *pálki*, and proceeded to the place appointed under the fortress. He left all his attendants at the distance of a long arrow-shot. Then the deceiver came down on foot from the fort, and made his appearance with manifestations of humility and despair. Upon reaching the foot of the hill, after every three or four steps, he made a confession of his offences, and begged forgiveness in abject terms and with limbs trembling and crouching. He begged that the armed men and the servants who had accompanied Afzal Khán's litter should move farther off. Sivaji had a weapon, called in the language of the Dakhin *bichuá*,(1) on the fingers of his hand hidden under his sleeve, so that it could not be seen. He had concealed a number of armed men among the trees and rocks all about the hill, and he had placed a trumpeter on the steps, to whom he said, "I intend to kill my enemy with this murderous weapon; the moment you see me strike, do not think about me, but blow your trumpet and give the signal to my soldiers." He had given orders to his troops also that as soon as they heard the blast of the trumpet, they should rush out and fall upon the men of Afzal Khán, and do their best to obtain success.

Afzal Khán, whom the angel of doom had led by the collar to that place, was confident in his own courage, and saw Sivaji approach unarmed and fearing and trembling. He looked upon his person and spirit as much alike, so he directed all the men who had accompanied his litter to withdraw to a distance. The treacherous foe then approached and threw himself weeping at the feet of Afzal Khán, who raised his head, and was about to place the hand of kindness on his back and embrace him. Sivaji then struck the concealed weapon so fiercely into his stomach that he died without a groan. According to his orders, the trumpeter blew a blast of triumph to arouse the concealed troops. Men on horse and foot then rushed forth in great numbers on all sides, and fell upon the army of Afzal Khán, killing, plundering and destroying. The bloodthirsty assassin rushed away in safety and joined his own men, whom he ordered to offer quarter to the defeated troops. He obtained possession of the horses, elephants, treasure, and all the baggage and stores. He proposed to take the soldiers into his service, and gained them over. Then, as usual he went on collecting stores and men.

'Adil Khán of Bijápúr, on hearing of this defeat, sent another army against Sivaji, under the command of Rustam Khán, one of his best generals. An action was fought near the fort of Parnála, and Rustam Khán was defeated. In fine, Fortune so favoured this treacherous worthless man, that his forces increased, and he grew more powerful every day. He erected new forts, and employed himself in settling his own territories, and in plundering those of Bijápúr. He attacked the caravans which came from distant parts, and appropriated to himself the goods and the women. But he made it a rule that wherever his followers went plundering, they should do no harm to the mosques,

(1) Literally, "scorpion." Khafi Khan confuses the "bichua" or dagger, with the "Vaghnakh" or tiger's claws. Shivaji was armed with both.

the Book of God, or the women of any one. Whenever a copy of the sacred Kurán came into his hands, he treated it with respect, and gave it to some of his Musulmán followers. When the women of any Hindú or Muhammadan were taken prisoners by his men, and they had no friend to protect them, he watched over them until their relations came with a suitable ransom to buy their liberty. Whenever he found out that a woman was a slave girl, he looked upon her as being the property of her master, and appropriated her to himself. He laid down the rule that whenever a place was plundered, the goods of poor people, *pul-siyáh* (copper-money), and vessels of brass and copper, should belong to the man who found them; but other articles, gold and silver, coined or uncoined, gems, valuable stuffs and jewels, were not to belong to the finder, but were to be given up without the smallest deduction to the officers, and to be paid by them to Sivaji's government.

March of Amíru-l Umará(1) to punish Sivaji

When Aurangzeb was informed of Sivaji's violence he directed *Amíru-l umará* who was *Súbadár* of the Dakhin, to punish and put him down. *Amíru-l umará* marched, in accordance with these orders, from Aurangábád at the end of Jumáda-l awwal, 1070 (end of January, 1660 A. D.), and marched towards Púna and Chákna(2), which in those days were Sivaji's places of abode and security. He left Mumtáz Khán in command at Aurangabad, and on the 1st Rajab arrived at the village of Seegaon, belonging to Sivaji. At this time Sivaji was at the town of Supá,(3) but upon hearing of *Amíru-l umará's* movements, he vacated that place, and went off in another direction. *Amíru-l umárá* took Supá without opposition, and left Jádu Rái there to take charge of it, and to provide supplies of corn for the army. The daring free-booter Sivaji ordered his followers to attack and plunder the baggage of *Amíru-l umará's* army wherever they met with it. When the *Amír* was informed of this, he appointed 4,000 horse, under experienced officers, to protect the baggage. But every day, and in every march, Sivaji's Dakhinis swarmed round the baggage, and falling suddenly upon it like Cossacks, they carried off horses, camels, men, and whatever they could secure, until they became aware of the approach of the troops. The Imperial forces pursued them, and harassed them, so that they lost courage, and giving up fighting for flight, they dispersed. At length they reached Púna and Sivápúr, two places built by that dog (Sivaji). The Imperial forces took both these places and held them.

Then the royal armies marched to the fort of Chákna, and after examining its bastions and walls, they opened trenches, erected batteries, threw up entrenchments round their own position, and began to drive mines under the fort. Thus having invested the place, they used their best efforts to reduce it. The rains in that country last nearly five months, and fall night and day, so that people cannot put their heads out of their

(1) Shayista Khan, Viceroy of the Deccan, and Aurangzeb's maternal-uncle
(2) Chakan, a fort on the Nasik road, about 12 miles north of Poona.
(3) About 40 miles south-east of Poona.

houses. The heavy masses of clouds change day into night, so that lamps are often needed, for without them one man cannot see another one of a party. But for all the muskets were rendered useless, the powder spoilt, and the bows deprived of their strings, the siege was vigorously pressed, and the walls of the fortress were breached by the fire of the guns. The garrison were hard pressed and troubled, but in dark nights they sallied forth into the trenches and fought with surprising boldness. Sometimes the forces of the free-booter outside combined with those inside in making a simultaneous attack in broad daylight, and placed the trenches in great danger. After the siege had lasted fifty or sixty days, a bastion which had been mined was blown up, and stones, bricks and men flew into the air like pigeons. The brave soldiers of Islám, trusting in God, and placing their shields before them, rushed into the assault and fought with great determination. But the infidels had thrown up a barrier of earth inside the fortress, and had made intrenchments and places of defence in many parts. All the day passed in fighting and many of the assailants were killed. But the brave warriors disdained to retreat, and passed the night without food or rest amid the ruins and the blood. As soon as the sun rose, they renewed their attacks, and after putting many of the garrison to the sword, by dint of great exertion and resolution they carried the place. The survivors of the garrison retired into the citadel. In this assault 300 men of the royal army were slain, besides sappers and others engaged in the work of the siege. Six or seven hundred horse and foot were wounded by stones or bullets, arrows and swords. The men in the citadel being reduced to extremity, sent Ráo Bháo Singh to make terms, and then surrendered. Next day *Amíru-l umará* entered and inspected the fortress, and having left Uzbek Khán in command of it, he marched after Sivaji. After a time he gave the name of Islámabád to Chákna, and called Jafar Khán from Málwá to his assistance. *Amíru-l umará* reported that the fort of Parenda had been won without fighting.

Sivaji Surprises Shayista Khan at Puna

The *Amíru-l umará* (Shayista Khán), after taking several forts and strong places, proceeded to Púna, and lodged there in a house which had been built by that hell-dog Sivaji. From thence he sent out detachments to destroy the power of Sivaji, and to make him prisoner. A regulation had been made that no person, especially that no Mahratta, should be allowed to enter the city or the lines of the army without a pass, whether armed or unarmed, excepting persons in the Imperial service. No Mahratta horseman was taken into the service. Sivaji, beaten and dispirited, had retired into mountains difficult of access, and was continually changing his position. One day a party of Mahrattas, who were serving as foot-soldiers, went to the *kotwál*, and applied for a pass to admit 200 Mahrattas, who were accompanying a marriage party. A boy dressed up as a bridegroom, and escorted by a party of Mahrattas with drums and music, entered the town early in the evening. On the same day another party was allowed to enter the town on the report that a number of the enemy had been made prisoners at one of the out-

posts, and that another party was bringing them in pinioned and bare headed, holding them by ropes and abusing and reviling them as they went along. They proceeded to the place agreed upon, where the whole party met and put on arms. At midnight they went to the cook-house, which was near the women's apartments. Between the two there was a small window stopped up with mud and bricks. They proceeded by a way well known to them, and got into the kitchen. It was the month of the fast. Some of the cooks were awake, and busy in preparing the vessels for cooking, and others were asleep. The assailants approached noiselessly, and, as far as they were able, they attacked and killed unawares those who were awake. Those who were asleep they butchered as they lay. So no great alarm was raised. They then quickly set to work about opening the closed window in the palace. The noise of their pickaxes and the cries of the slaughtered men awoke a servant who was sleeping in a room next to the wall of the cook-house. He went to the *Amíru-l umará* (Shayista Khán), and informed him of what he had heard. The *Amír* scolded him, and said that it was only the cooks who had got up to do their work. Some maid servants then came, one after another, to say that a hole was being made through the wall. The *Amír* then jumped up in great alarm, and seized a bow, some arrows, and a spear. Just then some Mahrattas came up in front, and the *Amír* shot one with an arrow; but he got up to the *Amír*, and cut off his thumb. Two Mahrattas fell into a reservoir of water, and the *Amíru-l umará* brought down another with his spear. In the midst of the confusion two slave-girls took Shayista Khán, *Amíru-l umará*, by the hand, and dragged him from the scene of strife to a place of safety. A number of Mahrattas got into the guard-house, and killed every one they found on his pillow, whether sleeping or awake and said: "This is how they keep watch!" Some men got into the *nakar-khána*, and in the name of the *Amíru-l umará* ordered the drums to be beaten; so such a din was raised that one man could not hear another speak, and the noise made by the assailants grew higher. They closed the doors. Abu-l Fath Khán, son of Shayista Khán, a brave young man, rushed forward and killed two or three men, but was himself wounded and killed. A man of importance, who had a house behind the palace of the *Amíru-l umará*, hearing the outcry, and finding the doors shut, endeavoured to escape by a rope-ladder from a window; but he was old and feeble, and somewhat resembled Shayista Khán. The Mahrattas mistook him for the *Amíru-l umará*, killed him and cut off his head. They also attacked two of the *Amír's* women. One of them was so cut about that her remains were collected in a basket which served for her coffin. The other recovered, although she had received thirty or forty wounds. The assailants gave no thought to plundering, but made their way out of the house and went off.

In the morning Rája Jaswant, who was commander of *Amíru-l umará's* supports, came in to see the *Amír*, and make his apology; but that high-born noble spoke not a word beyond saying, "I thought the Mahárája was in His Majesty's service when such an evil befell me." When this occurrence was reported to the Emperor, he passed censure both upon the *Amír* and Rája Jaswant. The *Súbadárí* of the Dakhin

and the command of the forces employed against Sivaji was given to Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam. The *Amíru-l umará* was recalled, but a subsequent order sent him to be *Súbadár* of Bengal. Mahárája Jaswant was continued as before among the auxiliary forces under the Prince.

The Surrender of Sivaji

Rája Jai Singh proceeded to his command and paid his respects to Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam at Aurangabad. He then went to Púna, and having arranged the affairs of that district, he employed himself in distributing the forces under his command to ravage the country and attack the forts of the enemy. He himself proceeded to attack the forts of Purandhar and Rudar Mál, two of the most noted fortresses in the country, which had formerly belonged to Nizamu-l Mulk. The two forts were close to each other. Diler Khán was sent on in command of the advanced force. Diler Khán began the siege, and both the forts were invested. The garrison made a vigorous defence. Jai Singh arrived with his son Kesar Singh. After a bastion had been blown up on one side, a panic seized the defenders of the foot of the hill. The besiegers then attacked them and succeeded in making their way to the top of the hill, where the defenders called for quarter, which was granted to them by the Rájá and Diler Khán. The two commandants waited upon Diler Khán, and were sent to the Rájá, who disarmed the garrison, and took possession of the forts. Eighty men, horsemen, infantry and sappers, were lost in the siege, and more than a hundred were wounded.

After the conquest of the two forts, Rája Jai Singh sent Dáúd Khán with seven thousand horse to plunder and lay waste the country which Sivaji had won by force and violence. Great efforts were made on both sides, and for five months the Imperial forces never rested from harassing and fighting the enemy. At Sivápur, which was built by Sivaji and at the forts of Kondána(1) and Kanwári-garh(2), not one trace of cultivation was left, and cattle out of number were taken. But on the other hand, the sudden attacks by the enemy, their brilliant successes, their assaults in dark nights, their seizure of the roads and difficult passes, and the firing of the jungles full of trees, severely tried the Imperial forces, and men and beasts in great numbers perished. But the enemy also had suffered great losses, and took to flight. The fort of Rájgarh, which Sivaji himself held, and the fort of Kondána, in which were his wife and maternal relations, were both invested, and the besiegers pressed the garrisons hard. The roads on all sides were blockaded, and Sivaji knew that, however much he might desire it, he could not rescue his family and carry them to a place of safety. He also knew that if these strongholds were taken, his wife and family would be liable to suffer the consequences of his own evil deeds. Accordingly he sent some intelligent men to Rája Jai Singh, begging forgiveness of his offences,

(1) Now called Sinhgarh, eight miles south of Poona.
(2) Three miles S. E. of Torna, and about fifteen from Poona.

promising the surrender of several forts which he still held, and proposing to pay a visit to the Rája. But the Rája, knowing well his craft and falsehood, gave directions for pressing the attack more vigorously, until the intelligence was brought that Sivaji had come out of the fortress. Some confidential Brahmins now came from him, and confirmed his expression of submission and repentance with the most stringent oaths. The Rája promised him security for his life and honour, upon condition of his going to wait on the Emperor, and of agreeing to enter into his service. He also promised him the grant of a high *mansab*, and made preparations for suitably receiving him. Sivaji then approached with great humility. The Rája sent his *munshi* to receive him, and he also sent some armed Rájpúts to provide against treachery. The *munshi* carried a message to say that if Sivaji submitted frankly, gave up his forts, and consented to show obedience, his petition for forgiveness would be granted by the Emperor. If he did not accept these terms, he had better return and prepare to renew the war. When Sivaji received the message, he said with great humility that his life and honour were safe if he made his submission. The Rája then sent a person of higher rank to bring him in with honour.

When Sivaji entered, the Rája arose, embraced him, and seated him near himself. Sivaji then, with a thousand signs of shame, clasped his hands and said, "I have come as a guilty slave to seek forgiveness, and it is for you either to pardon or to kill me at your pleasure. I will make over my great forts, with the country of the Konkan, to the Emperor's officers and I will send my son to enter the Imperial service. As for myself, I hope that after the interval of one year, when I have paid my respects to the Emperor, I may be allowed, like other servants of the State, who exercise authority in their own provinces, to live with my wife and family in a small fort or two. Whenever and wherever my services are required, I will, on receiving orders, discharge my duties loyally." The Rája cheered him up, and sent him to Diler Khán.

After directions had been given for the cessation of the siege, seven thousand persons, men, women and children, came out of the fort. All that they could not carry away became the property of the Government, and the fort was taken possession of by the forces. Diler Khán presented Sivaji with a sword. He then took him back to the Rája, who presented him with a robe, and renewed his assurances of safety and honourable treatment. Sivaji, with ready tact, bound on the sword in an instant, and promised to render faithful service. When the question about the time Sivaji was to remain under parole, and of his return home, came under consideration, Rája Jai Singh wrote to the Emperor, asking forgiveness for Sivaji and the grant of a robe to him, and awaited instructions. A mace-bearer arrived with a *farmán* and a robe, and Sivaji was overjoyed at receiving forgiveness and honour.

A discussion then arose about the forts, and it was finally settled that out of the thirty-five forts that he possessed, the keys of twenty-three should be given up, with their revenues, amounting to ten *lacs* of *huns*, or forty *lacs* of rupees. Twelve small forts, with moderate revenues,

were to remain in the possession of Sivaji's people. Shamba, his son, a boy of eight years old, in whose name a *mansab* of 5,000 had been granted at Rája Jai Singh's suggestion, was to proceed to Court with the Rája, attended by a suitable retinue. Sivaji himself, with his family, was to remain in the hills, and endeavour to restore the prosperity of his ravaged country. Whenever he was summoned on Imperial service, he was to attend. On his being allowed to depart, he received a robe, and a horse.

Sivaji at the Imperial Court

Rája Jai Singh, in the war with Bijápúr, to be described presently, had, with the co-operation of Sivaji, done splendid service. After giving Sivaji every assurance of a kind and gracious reception, he made himself responsible for his safety, and sent him to Court. News of Sivaji's arrival was brought as the festival of the accession was being celebrated. It was ordered that Kunwar Rám Singh, son of Rája Jai Singh, with Mukhlis Khán, should go out to meet and conduct that evil malicious fellow into Agra. On the 18th Zi-l ka'da, 1076[1] Sivaji, and his son of nine years old, had the honour of being introduced to the Emperor. He made an offering of 500 *ashrafis* and 6,000 rupees, altogether 30,000 rupees. By the royal command he was placed in the position of a *panj-hazári*. But his son, a boy of eight years, had privately been made a *panj-hazári*, and Nathuji, one of his relations, who had rendered great service to Rája Jai Singh in his compaign against Bijápúr, had been advanced to the same dignity, so that Sivaji had a claim to nothing less than the dignity of a *haft-hazári* (7,000). Rája Jai Singh had flattered Sivaji with promises; but as the Rája knew the Emperor to have a strong feeling against Sivaji, he artfully refrained from making known the promises he had held out. The *istikbál*, or reception of Sivaji, had not been such as he expected. He was annoyed, and so, before the robe and jewels and elephant, which were ready for presentation to him, could be presented, he complained to Rám Singh that he was disappointed. The Kunwar tried to pacify him, but without effect. When his disrespectful bearing came to the knowledge of the Emperor, he was dismissed with little ceremony, without receiving any mark of the Imperial bounty, and was taken to a house outside the city near to the house of Rája Jai Singh, as had been arranged by Kunwar Rám Singh. A letter was sent to Rája Jai Singh, informing him of what had passed, and Sivaji was forbidden to come to the Royal presence until the Rája's answer and advice should arrive. His son was ordered to attend the presence in the company of Rám Singh.

Sivaji's Escape

After Sivaji returned angry and disappointed from the royal presence to his house, orders were given to the *kotwal* to place guards round it. Sivaji reflecting upon his former deeds and his present condition, was sadly troubled by the state of his affairs. He thought of nothing else

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[1] May 12th, 1666, the Emperor's fiftieth birthday.

but of delivering himself by some crafty plan from his perilous position. His subtle mind was not long in contriving a scheme. From the beginning he kept up a show of friendship and intimacy with the *amírs*, and with Kunwár Rám Singh. He sent them presents of Dakhin products, and, by expressing contrition for his past conduct, he won them over to advocate the acceptance of his shame and repentance.

Afterwards he feigned to be ill, and groaned and sighed aloud. Complaining of pains in the liver and spleen, he took to his bed, and, as if prostrated with consumption or fever, he sought remedies from the physicians. For some time he carried on this artifice. At length he made known his recovery. He sent presents to his doctors and attendants, food to the Bráhmans, and presents of grain and money to needy Musulmans and Hindus. For this purpose he had provided large baskets covered with paper. These, being filled with sweetmeats of all sorts, were sent to the houses of the *amirs* and the abodes of *fakirs.* Two or three swift horses were procured, and, under the pretence of being presents to Bráhmins, they were sent to a place appointed fourteen *kos* from the city, in charge of some of his people, who were privy to his plans. A devoted companion, who resembled him in height and figure, took his place upon the couch, and Sivaji's gold ring was placed upon his hand. He was directed to throw a piece of fine muslin over his head, but to display the ring he wore upon his hand ; and when anyone came in, to feign to be asleep. Sivaji, with his son, got into two baskets, and were carried out, it being pretended that the baskets contained sweetmeats intended for the Bráhmans and *fakirs* of Mathura.

Thus on the last day of Safar(1) Sivaji got out of Agra, and proceeded to where his horses were posted. Thence, in the course of two watches, he reached Mathura. There he shaved off his beard and whiskers, and smeared his own and his son's face with ashes, and, taking with him some jewels and gold, he went off with some of his confederates, who were also disguised as *fakirs.* He crossed the Jumna at an unfrequented ferry and proceeded towards Benares, travelling in the night, and being guided by some swift Dakhini runners, whose business is to disguise themselves and travel in all directions. It is said that they carried sufficient money and jewels for their wants in hollow walking-sticks.

On the following day, at the fifth watch, a Dakhini runner, employed as a spy, brought information that Sivaji had got free and was making off. The *kotwál* was directed to make inquiry, but he replied that the guards were at their posts round the house. Another spy confidently reported his escape. The *kotwál's* men went to see, and they saw as they thought Sivaji asleep under his thin covering, and his ring distinctly visible. The *kotwál* reported accordingly. A third spy now strongly asseverated that Sivaji had escaped, and was forty or fifty miles away. A closer investigation revealed the fact of his escape. The *kotwál* and Kunwár Rám Singh were censured, and as Rám Singh was suspected of having prompted the evasion, he was deprived of his *mansab* and forbidden to come to court. Orders were sent to the provincial

(1) August 19th.

governors, and to the officials in all directions, to search for Sivaji, and to seize him and send him to the Emperor.

Rája Jai Singh, who just at this time had retired from Bijápúr, and had arrived at Aurangábád, received orders to arrest Nathúji before the escape of Sivaji became public, and to send him to Court. After that he was to watch carefully for the bird escaped from the cage, and not suffer him to re-establish himself in his old haunts and to gather his followers around him. It is said that Sivaji made such expedition in his flight that no courier could have overtaken him. But his son Sambhá, a boy of tender years, was with him, and he suffered so much from the rapid motion, that Sivaji left him behind at Alláhábád, in charge of a Bráhman, a man of high repute in that place, whose relations in the Dakhin had been closely connected with Sivaji's father. Sivaji placed a sum of money with the Bráhman and commended the boy to his care. He was not to part from him until he received a letter in Sivaji's own hand; and if he obtained certain intelligence of Sivaji's death, he was to act as he deemed best.

Sivaji left Mathurá after changing his clothes and shaving off his beard and whiskers, carrying with him his youthful son and forty or fifty individuals, servants and dependents, who all smeared their faces with ashes, and assumed the appearance of Hindú mendicants. The valuable jewels and the gold *mohurs* and the *huns* they carried with them were concealed in walking sticks, which had been hollowed out for the purpose, and were covered at the top with knobs. Some was sewed up in old slippers, and the wearers, pretending to be Hindú mendicants of three different classes, *Bairágis*, *Gosáins*, and *Udásis*, proceeded by way of Alláhábád to Benares. One very valuable diamond with some rubies was encased in wax and concealed in the dress of one of his followers, and other jewels were placed in the mouths of other attendants.

So they proceeded until they reached a place of which the *faujdár*, 'Ali Kuli Khán, had received private and public notice of Sivaji's escape. The *faujdár*, knowing of the escape of Sivaji, on hearing of the arrival of these three parties of Hindú devotees, ordered them all to be placed in confinement, and an enquiry to be made. All these men and some other travellers remained in confinement a night and a day. On the second night Sivaji, at the second watch of the night, proceeded alone to the *faujdár* in private, and acknowledged that he was Sivaji. But, said he, "I have two gems, a diamond and a ruby of great value, with more than a *lac* of rupees. If you secure me and send me back a prisoner, or if you cut off my head and forward that, the two priceless jewels will be lost to you. Here am I, and here is my head; but still, keep off thine hand from wretched me in this dangerous strait." 'Ali Kuli preferred the ready bribe to the hope of the reward which might afterwards accrue to him. He took the two valuable jewels, and on the following morning, after making inquiries, he released all the devotees and travellers from custody.

Sivaji, looking upon his escape as a new lease of life, hastened to pursue his journey in the direction of Benares. He himself in rapid travelling

and walking beat even the regular runners; but after reaching Allâhâbâd, his young son Sambhá, who accompanied him, was footsore and worn out. Sivaji therefore at Benares gave a quantity of jewels and money, and placed his boy in the charge of a Bráhman, named Kabkalas, who was the hereditary family priest of his family, and who happened at that time to be at Benares. Sivaji promised that if he reached home alive, he would write to the Bráhman, who was then to conduct the boy to the father by the road and in the manner prescribed in the letter. He warned him against listening to the wishes of the boy, or attending to letters from his mother. Having thus provided for the care of his boy, he continued his flight, and he had hardly entered Benares before the government messengers brought news of Sivaji's escape. Sivaji then continued his flight by way of Bihár, Patna and Chánda, which is a thickly wooded country and difficult of passage. Every place he came to, he and his followers changed their disguises, and so passed on from place to place secretly till he reached Haidarábád, and came to 'Abdu-llah Kutub-ul Mulk. There he told such stories and used such arts and wiles to forward his purpose that he deceived Abdu-llah Sháh.

Conquests of Sivaji

Sundry forts which had belonged to the Kutub-Sháhi kings had passed into the hands of the 'A'dil-Sháhis. Sivaji had a great reputation for skill in the reduction of forts, and he swore to 'Abdu-llah Sháh, that if he would supply him with forces and the means for conducting sieges, he would in a short time wrest these forts from the Bijápúris, and hand them over to the officers appointed to accompany him; he would not even accept some forts which had belonged to himself, and were in the possession of the officers of Aurangzeb, if he recovered them by the means supplied him. He vowed also that for the remainder of his life he would remain the devoted servant and adherent of 'Abdu-llah Sháh. The ultimate objects of the arch deceiver never entered into the consideration of 'Abdu-llah Sháh. He provided a sufficient force and a suitable siege train and he appointed to it several officers acquainted with siege operations, whom he enjoined to serve heartily in obedience to and in accord with Sivaji.

Sivaji, with the force placed under his command, marched on his enterprise. By fraud and stratagem, and by his marvellous skill in the conduct of sieges, every fort that he approached fell into his hands after a few days' investment. He cajoled the officers who had been sent with him to take charge of the captured forts, with plausible statements, with promises of giving them the command of more important places, and by using the money and property he had obtained from the captured strongholds. So he carried them with him to other forts, and in a short time he reduced Satára, Parnála, and ten or twelve other forts belonging to Bijápúr, which it would have taken years and *lacs* of expense to conquer. He then marched against Rájgarh, and other forts which had been captured by Rája Jai Singh, Diler Khán, and other Imperial generals, the keys of which he himself had surrendered. Having

mastered them all, he placed one or two of them in charge of the officers of 'Abdu-llah Sháh.

According to common report and the oral statements of men of Haidarábád, Sivaji came to that city in the first or second year of the reign of 'Abú-l Hasan, and succeeded in wheedling and satisfying that sovereign. When he had finished his fortress-taking, according to his wont, he took up his abode at Rájgarh, and there again raised the standard of rebellion. In the days when the fortifications of the port of Surat were not yet completed, he attacked and took the place. There he obtained an immense booty in gold and silver, coined and uncoined, and in the stuffs of Kashmir, Ahmadábád, and other places. He also made prisoners of some thousand Hindú men and women of name and station, and Musulmáns of honourable position. *Krors* in money and goods thus came into the hands of that evil infidel.

Aurangzeb, on being informed of the capture and plunder of Surat, ordered that the fortifications of that port should be completed; and he placed Diler Khán and Khán-Jahán in command of an army to punish Sivaji. It is said that Sivaji got together some ten or twelve thousand Kachh and Arab horses, so that when he sent out an army most of the horsemen were *bárgírs*, *i.e.*, they rode horses belonging to him. He rebuilt the forts which had formerly stood on the sea-shore, and he constructed also vessels of war, which were kept under the guns of the fortress. With these vessels he attacked and plundered ships which were proceeding to Europe and to Mecca.

When Sivaji had satisfied himself of the security of Rájgarh, his old retreat, and of the dependent territory, he turned his thoughts towards finding some other more inaccessible hill as a place for his abode. After dilligent search he fixed upon the hill of Ráhiri, a very high and strong place. The ascent of this place was three *kos*, and it was situated twenty-four *kos* from the sea; but an inlet of the sea was about seven *kos* from the foot of the hill. The road to Surat passed near the place, and that port was ten or twelve stages distant by land. Rájgarh was four or five stages off. The hills are very lofty and difficult of ascent. Rain falls there for about five months in the year. The place was a dependency of the Konkan, belonging to Nizámu-l Mulk. Having fixed on the spot, he set about building his fort. When the gates and bastions and walls were complete and secure, he removed thither from Rájgarh, and made it his regular residence. After the guns were mounted, and the place made safe, he closed all the roads around, leaving only one leading to his fortress. One day he called an assembly, and having placed a bag of gold and a gold bracelet worth a hundred *pagodas*(1) before his people, he ordered proclamation to be made that this would be given to any one who would ascend to the fort, and plant a flag, by any other than the appointed road, without the aid of ladder or rope. A *Dher*(2) came forward, and said that with the permission of the Rája he would mount to the top of the hill, plant the flag, and return. He

(1) The pagoda or hon was a gold coin worth 3½ rupees.
(2) Dhed, one of the lowest castes of Hindus in the Deccan.

ascended the hill, fixed the flag, quickly came down again, and made his obeisance. Sivaji ordered that the purse of money and the gold bracelet should be given to him, and that he should be set at liberty; and he gave directions for closing the way by which the *Dher* had ascended.

At the first, Ráhiri was attached to the Konkan, and belonged to Nizámu-l Mulk. Afterwards this country, and several of the dependencies of Bijápúr passed into the possession of the Emperor Sháh Jahán. When the Imperial government became friendly with Bijápúr, the Konkan, which had belonged to Nizámu-l Mulk, was granted to 'A'dil Sháh in exchange for territory newly acquired by Bijápúr. Fath Khán, an Afghán, was appointed governor of the country on the part of Bijápúr, and he posted himself in the fort of Dandá-Rájpúri which is situated half in the sea and half on land. Subsequently he built the fort of Jazira(1) upon an island in the sea, about a cannon-shot distant from Dandá-Rájpúri, in a very secure position, so that, if the governor of the country was hard pressed by an enemy, he might have a secure retreat in that place.

After Sivaji had fixed his abode at Ráhiri, which is twenty *kos* from Dandá-Rájpúri, he appointed a commandant of that fortress. In a short time, he reduced and occupied seven other forts, small and great, in that neighbourhood, and then resolved upon the conquest of Dandá-Rájpúri. Fath Khán had observed the triumphant progress of Sivaji, and how fortress after fortress had fallen into his hands. So Fath Khán lost courage; he abandoned Dandá-Rájpúri, and retired to the island fortress in the sea. Sivaji then resolved to effect the conquest of the island also, and he so conducted matters that Fath Khán was soon reduced to extremities, and he offered to surrender the place to Sivaji, upon a pledge of security to himself and the garrison.

Fath Khán had in his service three Abyssinian slaves, Sidi Sambal, Sidi Yákút, and Sidi Khairiyat, each of whom had ten Abyssinian slaves, which he had trained and drilled. The management of the island and of many domestic concerns was in the hands of these Abyssinians. These three men got information of the enemy's power, and of Fath Khán's intention of surrendering the island to Sivaji. They took counsel together and resolved that no good could come from allowing the island to pass into the hands of any infidel. So they determined to take Fath Khán prisoner, and to make Sidi Sambal governor of the fortress. In the fourteenth year of the reign these Abyssinians seized Fath Khán unawares, placed chains upon his legs, and wrote a statement of the facts to 'A'dil Sháh Bijápúri. They also wrote to Khán-Jahán, the *Súbadár* of the Dakhin, begging the aid of the Imperial forces, and requesting him to send his forces by sea from Surat. Khán-Jahán graciously bestowed *mansabs* and presents on each of the three Abyssinians.

Khán-Jahán also took measures to thwart the designs of Sivaji. He got together some ships at the fortress (of Surat), and began the

(1) Janjira.

rebuilding which had been ordered. Then he collected some ships of war with the intention of taking a cruise. One night he attacked the vessels of Sivaji, which lay near the fort of Dandá-Rájpúri, and captured them with two hundred sailors trained for war-like work. One hundred of them were Mahrattas, and had lately been appointed to this duty by Sivaji. Stones were tied to the feet of these men, and they were thrown into the sea. From that day forth the animosity between the Abyssinians and Sivaji grew more violent. Sivaji collected forty or fifty vessels of war to defend the forts of Kolába and Gandiri, which were the strongest of his newly-built forts on the sea-shore. He then turned his thoughts to the reduction of the fort of Jazira, and the capture of the Abyssinians. There were frequent naval fights between the opposing forces, in which the Abyssinians were often victorious.

Sidi Sambal was advanced to a *mansab* of 900, and then he died. Before he expired he made Sidi Yákút his successor and enjoined all the other Abyssinians to pay him a loyal and cheerful obedience. Sidi Yákút was distinguished among his people for courage, benignity and dignity. He now strove more than ever to collect ships of war, to strengthen the fortress, and to ward off naval attacks. He was armed and ready night and day. He frequently captured ships of the enemy, and cut off the heads of many Mahrattas and sent them to Surat. He used to write reports to Khán-Jahán, and he frequently received marks of approbation from him. He was constantly revolving in his mind plans for wresting the fort of Dandá-Rájpúri from the hands of Sivaji. He got together some rockets, which he fastened to trees, and discharged them at night against the fort.

Sivaji also was prosecuting his plans for the reduction of Jazira. But he now retired to a dwelling about three *kos* to celebrate the *holi*, leaving in command at Rájpúri some officers experienced in siege work, to prosecute incessantly the operations against Jazira during his absence and he held out to them the reward of a *mán* of gold and other presents. One night, while the garrison of Dandá-Rájpúri were celebrating the *holi*, and were intoxicated or inattentive, Sidi Yákút sent on shore four or five hundred men under Sidi Kyairiyat with ropes, ladders, and other apparatus. He himself drew thirty or forty boats laden with siege *matériel* under the walls of Rájpúri, and gave the signal agreed upon to announce his arrival. They found the garrison off their guard, and Sidi Khairiyat assaulted the place with loud cries from the land side. When the enemy took the alarm, and rushed to repel the attack on that side, Sidi Yákút planted his scaling-ladders, which he had brought in his boats, and by means of these and of ropes, his brave followers scaled the walls, and quickly made their way up. Some of the assailants were cast into the sea, and were drowned, others fell under the swords of the defenders, but the storming party forced its way into the fort, and raised the cry, "Strike! Kill!" Just at this time the powder magazine caught fire, and blew up a number of men, including ten or twelve who were with Sidi Yákút. The smoke and the noise made it difficult to distinguish friend from foe, but Sidi Yákút raised his war-cry, and encouraged his

men to slaughter the defenders who had escaped the fire. Sidi Khairiyat also scaled the walls on his side, and the place was taken.

I, the author, was in that country some time, and I repeatedly heard from many men, and from the mouth of Yákút Khán himself, that when the magazine blew up, although Sivaji was twenty *kos* off, it awoke him from sleep, and he said that some misfortune had fallen on Dandá-Rájpúri, and he sent men to ascertain what had happened.

At this time Sivaji's forces had gone to attack the neighbourhood of Surat. Within the space of four or five *kos* from Rájpúri there were six or seven Nizámu-l Mulki forts which had fallen into the hands of Sivaji, but he was unable at this time to render them any assistance. So Sidi Yákút seized the opportunity to attack them. Six forts surrendered after two or three days' resistance, but the commandant of one fort held out for a week in the hope of relief from Sivaji. The Abyssinians pushed forward their approaches, and kept up such a fire that he was obliged to surrender. Sidi Yákút granted quarter to the garrison, and seven hundred persons came out. But notwithstanding his word, he made the children and pretty women slaves, and forcibly converted them to Islám. The old and ugly women he set free, but the men he put to death. This struck such terror into the hearts of Sivaji and his followers that he was obliged to confine himself to securing Ráhiri. Sidi Yákút sent an account of his victory to Prince Muhammad Mu'azzam, *Súbadár* of the Dakhin, and to Khán-Jahán. His *mansab* was raised, a robe of honour was sent to him, and he received the title of Khán. Similar honours were also given to Sidi Khairiyat.

Death of Sivaji

Khán-jahán Bahádur Kokaltásh, after arriving at the *Khujista-bunyád*(1) Aurangábád, according to order, laid siege to the fort of Sálir. Many Rájpúts were killed, and many Mussulmáns also fell. He pressed the siege for four or five months, but making no impression, he withdrew to Aurangábád.

The hell-dog Sivaji went forth with an army on a plundering expedition, and while Khán-Zamán, the *Súbadár*, was at Burhánpúr, he entered Khandesh, and plundered the town of Dharamgaon, one of the most flourishing in that country. Afterwards he ravaged and burnt Chopra(2) and other *parganas*. He then marched against Jálna,(3) a rich mercantile place in the Bálághát. In the course of the same year he was attacked with illness and died. The date of his death is found in the words, "*Kafir ba-jahannam raft*,"(4) "The infidel went to hell," which was discovered by the writer of these pages. Sivaji left two sons, Sambhá and Rám Rája. The former succeeded him. He made Kabkalas, the Bráhman who brought him from Allahábád, his minister.

(1) Auspicious.
(2) Dharamgaon and Chopra are mercantile towns in E. Khandesh, about 70 miles from Burhánpúr.
(3) A flourishing town, 40 miles from Aurangabad.
(4) The Persian chronogram gives the date April 5th, 1680. See below, p. 184, *note* 2.

Sivaji had always striven to maintain the honour of the people in his territories. He persevered in a course of rebellion, in plundering caravans, and troubling mankind; but he entirely abstained from other disgraceful acts, and was careful to maintain the honour of the women and children of Muhammadans when they fell into his hands. His injunctions upon this point were very strict, and anyone who disobeyed them received punishment. But the son, unlike his father, obtained an evil name by collecting round him women of all tribes, and assailing the honour of the women of the places in which he dwelt. His father never showed any backwardness in attacking and plundering prosperous places, but he never made any attack upon Aurangábád and Burhánpúr, the provincial capitals of the Imperial dynasty. If any of his counsellors advised an attack upon these places, he very wisely and prudently forbade it; "for," said he, "if we attack these places, the honour of Aurangzeb will be wounded, and he will march hither himself, and then, God knows how the strife will end!"

II.—THE JOURNAL OF A BUNDELA OFFICER

[Bhimsen Burhanpuri was a Bundela officer, who acted as agent to Dalpatrao, the Raja of Datia, during the whole of the Deccan Campaign, in which the Raja's Bundela contingent took part under Nasrat Jang. His father, Bhagwandas, was for sometime Diwan of the Deccan. As he was on familiar terms with all the great Moghul officials, and had himself taken a leading part in the events which he describes, his journal, the *Nushka-i-Dilkasha,* is, in spite of its somewhat confused chronology, of the utmost value for the study of the military side of Shivaji's career. Bhimsen's estimate of Shivaji as a military commander is a notable tribute to his genius for organization.]

Birth and early Exploits of Shivaji

Of the origin of Shivaji, the founder of the present Mahratta state in the Deccan, we have the following account. Bhim Sing, Rana of Udaipur, the first in rank among the Hindu princes, had a son named Bagh Sing, by a concubine of a tribe very inferior to his own. On the death of his father, Bagh Sing, finding himself despised and neglected by his relations, the Sesodia Rajputs, who from the low caste of his mother, regarded him only as a bastard, and not of their tribe, became weary of the indignities shown him ; and moved from Udaipur to Khandesh, where he embraced the service of a zemindar, named Raja Ali Mohun. His abilities procured him the confidence of his patron to such a degree, that at his death he appointed him guardian to his son ; and Bagh Sing executed the trust with honour. When the young raja became of age to take upon himself the conduct of his affairs, Bagh Sing, for what reason does not appear, declined his service, and retired into the Deccan, where he purchased a tract of land near the present Mahratta capital of Poona, and settled upon it as a zemindar, in which situation he died.

Bagh Sing had four sons, two of whom, Maloji and Bamoji,(1) being of an enterprising spirit, entered into the service of Jadhu Rai, a Mahratta chief, and of distinguished rank at the court of Bahadur Nizam Shah.

Maloji had two sons, Shahji and Sharifji. Bamoji had six sons, who entered as soldiers of fortune into the service of a zamindar of Bijapur.

Maloji gradually acquired rank and influence with his patron, from whom he obtained a promise of his only daughter in marriage for his eldest son Shahji ; but Jadhu Rai afterwards, from some disgust, refusing to fulfil his engagement, Maloji appealed for redress to Nizam Shah, who obliged the chief to consent to the nuptials, which were celebrated with great pomp : and thus the Bhosle family became incorporated with the Mahrattas, and commonly esteemed as such in Hindustan.(2)

A connection thus introduced upon him by force, could not be pleasing to Jadhu Rai, who from the moment of its consummation accordingly

(1) Vithoji in the Maratha Chronicles.

(2) This is a very interesting variant of the genealogies given in the Chitnis and other bakhars. Manucci gives a similar account, p. 172.

became jealous of his son-in-law; and on the death of his father Maloji, Shahji, by his abilities having acquired the favour of the queen mother, regent to her son, a minor, was regarded only as a dangerous rival by his wife's father. An open rupture ensued, and Jadhu Rai, by the assistance of the imperial troops then meditating conquests in the Dekkan, obliged Shahji to quit the kingdom, though at the expense of its welfare, by introducing the enemy of his sovereign.

Shahji with his followers, thus driven from Ahmednagar, now entered into the service of Ibrahim Adil Shah, king of Bijapur, who gave him a jaghir in the Carnatic, with a command of ten thousand horse. Soon after this, his son Sivaji, afterwards so celebrated in the Deccan, was born, from the daughter of Jadhu Rai Mahratta; by whom Shahji had already one son, named Sambaji, who was in early youth killed in action against a refractory zemindar of Bijapur.

Shahji having disagreed with his wife, on account of his hatred to her father, resolved on separation; and, accordingly, sent her, with the infant Sivaji, to whom he shewed no affection, to reside at Poona, of which, and the vicinity, he had obtained a grant, under the charge of one of his officers, named Dadaji Pant, to whom he also committed the management of the zemindari.

Shahji now married a second wife, also a Mahratta, by whom he had a son named Angoji, or Ekoji,(1) to whom he transferred all his fondness from his former connection. Continuing to rise in honours and consequence, under the patronage of Morar Jugdeo, diwan to the sultan, he became one of the principal chiefs of Bijapur; and though on the death of the king his patron was put to death by the queen regent, Shahji suffered no injury in his fortunes.

Janjappa Naik, poligar of Mudkal, being at enmity with Panchi Ragla, zemindar of Tanjore, invited Shahji to his assistance; and in conjunction they defeated the raja, who was slain in the action, and possessed themselves of the capital and all his dominions. The allies quarrelling on the division of the plunder and the sum to be paid to Shahji for his services, he attacked Janjappa, slew him in battle, and thus obtained an easy conquest of the zemindaris of Tanjore and Mudkal, in which he obtained confirmation from the regency of Bijapur, and settled them on his son Ekoji, whose posterity still hold them under the Nawab of Arcot, or rather, the British Government.

Sivaji, though neglected by his father, was properly educated by his guardian Dadaji; and at the age of seventeen excelled in every accomplishment. Military fame was his first passion; and the government of Bijapur being now weakened by intestine divisions and the encroachments of the Moguls, he had soon an opportunity of signalizing himself among other rebels. Contrary to the remonstrances of Dadaji, he raised banditti, and plundered the neighbouring districts; which conduct in his charge so affected the old man, that he poisoned himself from vexation, and to avoid the imputation of assisting in his designs. Sivaji now took possession of the jaghir, raised more troops, successfully

(1) Vyankoji. His mother's name was Tukabai Mohité.

levied contributions on several zemindars, and much extended the limits of his territories. Shahji, either from inability, or contented with his rich zemindari of Tanjore, connived at his excesses, and made over to him the revenues of Poona.

Aurungzeb having left the Deccan, Sivaji resolved to turn the inactivity of the Imperial troops, and the weakness of the Golconda and Bijapur princes, to the utmost advantage. He took the strong fortress of Rairi and Rajgarh, which he fixed upon as the seat of his government; and successively captured Purandar, Jagne and other places, with considerable districts dependent on Bijapur.

The regency of Bijapur, being alarmed at his encroachments, sent him threats mingled with offers of pardon; but he regarded neither, and continued his rebellion. Having by treachery put to death the zemindar of Javli, he possessed himself of an immense treasure and that district. He next plundered the rich manufacturing city of Kalyan, took Maduri and Pradhangarh(1), at which last he found a valuable buried treasure. Rajapur near Bombay, Sangarpur, and an island belonging to the Portuguese, next fell into his hands.

The Moghul War, 1663-6

Sivaji still continued to resist in the Deccan, and this year signalized himself by a remarkable exploit at Poona, where the Amir Ul Umra(2) yet resided. Having by his spies learned that the Nawab and his troops were lulled into careless security, he one night, with a select band of tried followers, after a forced march of forty miles, entered the city, and passing without alarm to the palace, mined his passage into the women's apartments, with fifteen of his companions. The Amir Ul Umra, awakened by the noise, started up, and received two wounds as he ran to call for help into an outer room; but his son Abu Fatteh was slain, and some female servants with him, before he could procure assistance. At length the guards arriving, Sivaji made his escape by the way he had entered, without losing a man. The Amir Ul Umra attributing this surprise to the connivance of Jaswant Sing, his second in command, was fearful of remaining longer at Poona, and retired to Aurungabad; from whence he was recalled soon after to Court, and the prince Mahummud Muazim again sent to the government of the Deccan, which he held for two years. During these, no memorable event occurs in history, and at the end of this period the prince was ordered to Court.

Mirza Raja Jaysing, who was sent governor of the Deccan on the recall of the prince Mahummud Muazim, immediately began operations against Sivaji, who had extended his usurpations over a great part of the Bijapur territories on the coast of Malabar, and carried his predatory incursions as far as Surat, which he plundered of immense wealth, it being then the richest seaport of the empire.

(1) Murbad and Prachandgarh, *i.e.*, Rajgarh and Torna, are probably meant. They were captured in 1646.

(2) Shaista Khan.

Mirza Raja, with his second in command, Dilir Khan, after having successfully repulsed the armies of Sivaji, and laid waste his country, sat down before Purandhar, a strong fortress, which the Mahratta, regarding as impregnable, had chosen for the asylum of the women and treasures of himself and all his principal followers. The Imperialists, by a resolute assault, having made themselves masters of a redoubt, situated on an eminence which commanded the fort, Sivaji was reduced to the last extremity. In this exigence, he took the resolution of throwing himself on the mercy of his enemy. To the surprise of the besiegers, he with a few attendants, unarmed, appeared suddenly at one of the outposts, and demanded to be conducted to the general. The Mirza Raja sent his own son Kirat Sing, to accompany him to his presence, with all the customary honours due to his rank. The whole camp pressed in crowds to see this celebrated hero, and the Mirza Raja having come as far as the door of his tent to meet him, after embracing enquired the occasion of his thus putting himself in his power.

Sivaji replied, that war was attended with the ruin of thousands, and crimes thus accumulated on both parties; that he was at length sensible how heinous it was in him, the meanest of slaves, to rebel against the orders of the king of kings, and that he now saw his own interest, and that of his family and country, to be in submission and obedience to the emperor. That regarding the Mirza Raja as his father, he had thus of his own accord fled to his presence, that he might, through his paternal mediation and intercession obtain forgiveness and pardon for the crimes he had been guilty of, and procure from His Majesty some honourable command as that against Kandahar, or any other equally important; that in case the Maharaja would lay the hand of paternal protection on his head, he would immediately make an offering of twenty-four of his forts, with the countries dependent.

The Maharaja, looking on this occurrence as a gift of the divine blessing, instantly exchanged with him the adoption of father and son, ordered the march of victory to be beat, and informing Dilir Khan of Sivaji's submission, desired him to cease hostilities. The Khan was at first offended that any capitulation had been made without his consultation, and sent for answer, that as Mussulmans had been killed during the siege, and a breach was effected, also a disposition made for the assault, he would not consent to a peace until the fort should be taken. The Mirza Raja the next morning, in order to mollify the Khan's displeasure, sent Sivaji with his son Kirat Sing to visit him; which compliment had the desired effect, and he withdrew his troops from the batteries. Sivaji the same day surrendered Purandhar to the imperial generals, and gave up the keys of twenty-four other forts to the Mirza Raja, who appointed killadars to each, and sent off a petition in favour of Sivaji to the Sublime Court.

Orders had before this been issued to the Mirza Raja, that he should immediately upon the reduction of Purandhar possess himself of Bijapur. Sivaji also, after the imperial troops had taken possession of the places he had given up, and the despatch of his petition to the presence,

represented to the raja, that it was useless to remain inactive with such a fine army until the arrival of an answer, that if he approved, he would join him to besiege Bijapur, the fall of which would be a proof of his good services in the eyes of His Majesty. The raja accordingly having, besides the customary imperial donations, distributed from his own treasury a crore of rupees among the Amirs and troops, began his march with an army of fifty-six thousand horse and foot. Sharza Khan, from Bijapur, advanced to meet him, with an army of eighty thousand men, and a desperate engagement occurred; in which the Bijapur general being killed by a musket bullet, by Supkaran Bondela, his army was defeated, and the imperial troops pursued the fugitives to within five coss of the city; but soon after this a great scarcity of provisions prevailed in the camp, as the enemy had laid waste the country round, and it was impossible to carry supplies for a constancy for so large a force, so that it became daily more difficult to remain or advance.

At this time also, answers arrived from court, and His Majesty's orders were issued, that Sivaji should receive a lakh of rupees from the treasury of the Deccan, and proceed to the Imperial Presence. Fatteh Jung Khan, who was escorting treasure from Aurungabad to the Mirza Raja's camp, was attacked by a large body of the enemy between Purandhar and Sholapur. He made a gallant defence, but was slain in the action, and the treasure and baggage fell into the enemy's hands. The Mirza Raja having given assurances of protection to the nobility of Bijapur, many chiefs came over to him, whom he gratified with presents and honours in the emperor's name. Having given Sivaji permission to retire to regulate his country, previous to his going to the Presence, and sent with him Kalyan Sing, a commander of five hundred, the Mirza Raja retreated from Nagpada, and cantoned for the rainy season at the reservoir of Kikarulla, twelve coss from Purandhar.

Sivaji having visited his country, began his journey to the imperial court. When he arrived at Aurungabad, he was attended by five hundred noble horse, elegantly caparisoned, and about the same number of select and well accoutred infantry. The whole city came out of curiosity to meet him. Saf Shikan Khan, an Amir of three thousand and Deputy Governor, regarding Sivaji only in the light of a Mahratta zemindar, sat himself with the public officers in full assembly, thinking that he would pay him the first visit, and only sent his nephew to meet him without the city, and conduct him to his palace. But this affronted Sivaji, who turned off directly to the Mirza Raja's palace; and upon being told that the governor expected him in full assembly, asked angrily, "Who is Saf Shikan Khan? What office does he hold here? And why has he not come out to meet me?" Then, having dismissed the nephew and his train, he alighted at the palace. In the evening, Saf Shikan Khan and the public officers came in state to visit him, and he received them at the foot of the carpets, and entered familiarly into conversation. The next day Sivaji returned the visit. The Deputy Governor and other officers each entertained him, according to their ability. He stayed at Aurungabad till he had received the bounty

ordered from the treasury, and then proceeded on his journey to court, where he arrived in safety.

Sivaji at the Imperial Court, 1666

Sivaji, when introduced to the Imperial Presence, did not meet with honours he expected. Being placed among the Amirs of five thousand, he asked, to what rank the station was assigned, and being told it was that allotted to the Raja Ram Sing Sesodiah, wept and fainted away. Orders were given to carry him into the court of the bathing apartments, where they fanned and sprinkled him with rose-water. Apparently, he was overcome by the splendour and magnificence of the imperial court; but none was acquainted with his real disorder. When he came to himself he begged to be carried to the place appointed for his residence; where being arrived, he began to talk in a frantic manner, and pretended madness, often crying out, "Now such a criminal as I am have put myself into the talons of the eagle, why does he not quickly put me to death?"

These mad effusions were related to His Majesty, who ordered that Ram Sing, son of the Mirza Raja, should take care of him. Shortly after this, agreeably to Sivaji's own request, it was represented to the emperor, that as he now had come to the Presence, he desired that his attendants, who were used to the Deccan and did not choose to live out of it, might have leave to return to their homes. His Majesty regarded this request as highly favourable to keeping him at court without trouble, and permitted all his followers, except his son Shambhuji and a few of the principal persons, to return to the Deccan.

Sivaji's Escape

Before this, Sivaji had made it a custom every Thursday to distribute among the poor, who crowded in great numbers to his gate on this occasion, great quantities of pastry and sweetmeats, which were brought in large baskets, each of which required three or four men to bear it; and these, when emptied, were carried out again to the confectioner's. Ram Sing had requested that his people might be recalled; and the guards of Fulad Khan, the city kotwal, were then ordered to keep the watch over him. Sivaji by his generosity so gained upon his keepers, that they were contented with seeing him every morning and evening; after the last of which visits, he constantly retired to sleep, on pretence of illness. When everything was ripe for his intended plan, Sivaji, one Thursday evening, having acquainted his confidants of his design, ordered a slave to take his place on the bed, and leaving the customary attendants in the room, emptied the sweetmeats, and putting his son into one of the baskets, laid himself in another in which they were carried out of the house. When he had got clear of the city, he mounted his son upon a sorry horse, and led the bridle himself on foot on the Mathura road. True it is, that "the wise man does that without noise, which a vast army cannot effect." In the morning, the guards, not seeing him present himself as was customary, were alarmed, and gave intelligence to Fulad

Khan, who entering the bed chamber, awaked the slave who occupied the place of Sivaji. He said, that he had been ordered to lie on his bed, which he had done since evening, but could give no further account. The kotwal carried the slave and several other persons bound to His Majesty; who ordered a strict search to be made, and proclamation to be issued in every district of the empire, describing Sivaji, and ordering him to be seized, but all in vain. Tarbat Rai, the superintendent of the spies, was disgraced for not having given information of the stratagem; and Ram Sing, who had requested the recall of his people from the guard over Sivaji, was suspected of connivance, and banished from the court. The Mirza Raja was ordered to leave the Deccan, as soon as relieved by the prince Mahummud Muazim and the Maharaja Jaswant Sing.

Sivaji having arrived at Mathura, shaved his beard, mustachios, and long side locks, to disguise himself. Committing his son to the charge of a Brahmin, who lay under many obligations to him, with a promise of great rewards if he should conduct him in safety to the Deccan, he for the present gave him some jewels and gold Mohurs for his expenses. He then travelled as a pilgrim from Mathura, by the route of Allahabad and Benares to Gaya; from whence, after meeting two officers whom he had sent on before, he travelled, accompanied by them, to Kuttack. Here, being much fatigued, he ventured to buy a sorry horse; but, not having silver ready to pay for it, unguardedly opened a purse of gold. The news of his escape having reached this city, the owner of the horse, who was suspicious at seeing a person in the dress of a beggar with so much money, said, "Surely you must be Sivaji in disguise, as you offer such a sum for a sorry horse." Sivaji made no reply, but gave him the purse, and departed with all possible speed to Jaganath, *i.e.*, the famous temple at Puri in Orissa, from whence, after performing the customary worship, he travelled through Hyderabad to his own country. The Brahmin of Mathura, putting a girl's dress on Sivaji's son, then a boy with long fine hair, and taking his wife in company, called him his daughter, and brought him in safety into the Deccan to his father; who rewarded him so generously that he was ever after independent of the world.

Renewed Campaign in the Deccan, 1670

Sivaji, immediately upon his arrival in the Konkan, assumed royal titles and struck coins, detached different bodies to invade the royal territories, plundered the seaport of Surat, the pargana of Karinja, and took most of the forts which he had delivered up at his late submission. Some of the governors died in defence of their commands, and every day news was brought to the prince of the loss of one place or another. Sivaji attacking the fort of Mahuli[(1)], which was much in want of supplies, and every hope of assistance to it cut off, was informed by the governor, Manohar Das, that he and his garrison were Rajputs, who would sacrifice their lives man by man, rather than give up the place. Sivaji was resolved to persist; and one night five hundred of his best

(1) Mahuli is a fort in the North Konkan, 50 miles north-east of Bombay.

troops, well acquainted with the private paths, marched suddenly to the fort and fixed ladders to the walls, by which they ascended; but the garrison, who were upon the watch day and night, were ready to receive them, and put a great number to the sword; upon which the rest relinquished the attack. Sivaji, upon this failure, raised the siege, and attacked Uzbak Khan, the thanadar of Kalyan Bhimri, who, with many of his followers, after a gallant resistance, attained the honour of martyrdom, and the survivors fled in a wretched condition to Aurungabad; but Manohar Das kept possession of the fort, and sent express accounts of the situation of affairs to the prince.

Daud Beg Khan Koreshi was sent to his assistance with supplies for the garrison; and after relieving Manohar Das, and throwing in some small quantities of provisions to different forts, retreated. Sivaji again attacked Mahuli, and carried it by an assault, in which the new governor, Alivardi Khan, was slain. Soon after this, he possessed himself of all the newly ceded garrisons, as also of the fort of Ahivant(1), which had long been in the imperial possession.

Sivaji now entertaining designs of subduing the countries dependent on Bijapur, and wanting to supply his garrisons with provisions, which he could not easily do while invaded, wrote to the Maharaja, that had not the Emperor slighted his services, he had intended to offer them against Kandahar; that he had made his escape only through fear of his life, but now (his patron, the Mirza Raja, being dead(2)) if, by his intercession, Jaswant Singh could procure a pardon for his late offences, he would send his son Santah(3) to the prince, that he might be promoted to a mansab, and serve wherever there was occasion. He wrote also in this humble manner to the prince; who, as well as the Maharajah, applied to court in his favour, and their requests met with the royal compliance.

Sivaji upon this, dispatched his son Santah to Aurungabad, under the care of Pratap Sing, a principal chief, escorted by a thousand horse; and, after an audience of the prince, he was honoured by the mansab of five thousand, a present of an elephant, and arms set with jewels, as also a jaghir in the province of Berar, to which he detached one half of his force, and kept the other attendant on his person. After some time, Sivaji requested that his son might be sent, as he was then a child, promising that he should be dispatched to court, when of age to act in the royal service. This was complied with, and a party of the Maharajah's troops escorted him to his father, while Pratap Sing remained at the prince's court. Safeh Khan Bakshi of the Deccan laid before His Majesty a list of the mansabdars created by the Amir ul Umra, the Maharajah, and the Mirza Raja Jai Sing. Many were displaced, but some deigned to accept of inferior ranks, and others were restored at the request of the prince. The rest went over to the service of Sivaji, who gladly received them.

(1) A fortress in the Nasik district, on the western extremity of the Chandor mountains.
(2) He died at Burhanpur, July 12th 1667. (3) Sambhaji.

When intelligence of this desertion reached Aurungzeb, and it appeared that Safeh Khan had much oppressed the mansabdars of the Deccan, among whom were some old servants of the throne, he was much displeased, and this nobleman was ordered to the presence. He had also confiscated the receipts of some parts of Santah's jaghir, as a payment of the lakh of rupees Sivaji had received from the treasury on his going to court. This circumstance being made known to Sivaji, who had now conquered much of the Bijapur country, and amply supplied all his forts with provisions, he recalled Pratap Sing from Aurungabad, who left it immediately, and the other part of his force in the jaghirs plundered the districts and went off in spite of a force which was sent in pursuit, but could not overtake them.

Sivaji is Reconciled to his father

Sivaji, during this truce, punished a whole tribe with death, who had rebelled against his father Shahji in Mudhol[1], and delivered him up to the resentment of the Bijapur government, by which he was condemned to be buried alive for withholding the revenues of Tanjore, but saved at the intercession of Randullah Khan, the minister of Ali Adil Shah. Shahji, penetrated with gratitude for this service, being set at liberty and reinstated in his employments, visited his son. Sivaji notwithstanding his remonstrances, ran ten miles on foot by the side of his palanquin; and on his alighting at his palace seated him on the masnad; while he himself took his slippers, and stood among the menial attendants. Shahji spent two months with his son and first wife, in mutual interchanges of affection. Sivaji on this occasion obtained the deserved applause of all mankind, for his conduct to a parent, who had hitherto, from his birth, shown him no marks of affection, but rather treated him as an alien of the family. Shahji, after this visit, joined his patron Randullah Khan, in reducing the refractory zemindar of Sonedeh Bednor, at which place he died, by a fall from his horse in hunting[2]. A splendid mausoleum was erected to his memory.

Sivaji obliged the Sultan of Bijapur to pay him a tribute of three, and the king of Golconda the sum of four, lakhs of pagodas. He had now formed a considerable fleet, with which he infested the coasts, and blocked up Danda Rajapuri, held by the Siddis, who acted as admirals of the few ships of Aurungzeb, to protect the trade of Surat and the coasts, for which they enjoyed large pensions.

The Battle of Vani-Dindori, 1670

Soon after this, Sivaji again plundered the town of Surat, and the prince sent orders to Daud Khan to intercept his retreat.

Daud Khan, having paid his compliments to the prince, departed in pursuit of Sivaji, and soon had intelligence, that after plundering Surat, he had laid waste the country in the vicinity of the fort of Aurung, named also Mulhir, which he was watching for an opportunity to surprise. Messengers soon after this brought intelligence that Sivaji, hearing of

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(1) This was in the cold weather, 1661-2. (2) January, 1664.

the approach of the royal army, had passed by this fort, and was hastening to gain the pass of Kanchana Manchana(1); upon which Daud Khan marched immediately for Chandor, which lay in that road, and Bakhi Khan, who had been obliged to retire into the fort from this town, on account of the pressure of the enemy, came to visit him. About midnight the spies brought word, that Sivaji had gone through the pass of Kanchana Manchana, from whence he had taken the road to Gulshanabad, leaving a force in the pass to protect those who had fallen in the rear from fatigue and other causes. It was full moon, and Daud immediately marched in pursuit, with such haste, that the little baggage he had fell behind; and towards morning, it growing dark, part of the troops mistook the road, and separated from the rest. Ikhlas Khan, who commanded the advanced guard, having gained an eminence, at daylight descried a body of the Mahrattas; upon which he ordered his people to prepare; but, before they were ready, he, from the rashness of youth, with a small number, charged the enemy, who were not less than eleven thousand horse, but paid dear for his impatience, and was severely wounded. When Daud Khan came to the height, and beheld the imprudence of Ikhlas Khan, he detached a reinforcement, and hastened to a ruined village, where leaving the elephant flags and drum bearers, who were tired, under Ibrahim Khan Panni, with instructions to keep with him the rear and baggage as they came up, he proceeded. The advanced troops soon engaged with the enemy, and at first many of the imperial officers were wounded; but at length, Rai Makarand and Bhau Purohit drove them off with the cannon, and Daud Khan arriving, after taking up Ikhlas Khan from the ground, pursued them, when a warm action ensued, in which many of the royal troops fell. The Mahrattas, according to their custom, attacked on all quarters, but great numbers of them being killed by the cannon shot, the rest fled in confusion. Daud Khan had not with him at this time more than a thousand horse; and though the enemy made a second attack towards nightfall, he conducted himself so gallantly as again to defeat them; after which he ordered up the baggage, and took proper care of the wounded officers and men. The next day, he marched to Gulshanabad, and sent the wounded on to Aurungabad. Certain news arriving of the Mahrattas having retreated to the Konkan, he halted about a month; after which he moved the camp to Ahmednagar, where he received letters from his son Hamid ud Din Khan, his deputy in the government of Burhanpur, that the Mahrattas with a very large force meditated an attack upon the city, which he was preparing to defend, but ample and speedy assistance was necessary. Daud Khan moved instantly; and on hearing that the enemy had plundered Bahadurpur, within two miles of the city, redoubled his speed; but on his arrival at Fardapur intelligence was brought him, that they had retreated towards Baglana, upon which he altered his route to pursue. The enemy plundered the town of Mulher under the fort of Aurunghar, and then besieged Sultanghar, commonly named Salhir.

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(1) A pass in the Chandor hills, leading from Baglan to Nasik.

It was determined that prior to engaging in other service, the fort of Ahivant, which Sivaji had reduced, should be retaken. Accordingly, Mahabat Khan carried on his approaches on one side, and Daud Khan on others, so as to form a blockade. The batteries played for a whole month, when a breach being made on the side of Mahabat Khan, the besieged, terrified at the dangers of a storm, applied to Daud Khan, who let them pass from the fort through his entrenchments, and sending his own men, took possession of the place. Mahabat Khan, as this was done without his knowledge, was much offended, and their mutual hatred grew to the greatest pitch. The fort being properly garrisoned, the army marched to Ahmednagar, and then cantoned for the rainy season in the pargana of Balnir; but Daud Khan, agreeably to his petition, was recalled to the Presence.

The Southern Campaign, 1672

On the death of Ali Adil Shah, Sivaji, intending to reduce the country, and marry his son Sambah to the daughter of Rustum Rao, with royal splendour and magnificence, in order to divert from him the imperial arms, that he might be at liberty to execute his designs, began to intrigue for that purpose. He dismissed Jadhu Tarai and Halal Khan, who had deserted to him from the imperial army, telling them that he could not keep them, as he now meant to ask for peace. These chiefs having at the intercession of Supkaran Bundela been pardoned by Bahadur Khan, returned to his camp. Sivaji now sent deputies, with presents of an elephant and many rarities, to Bahadur Khan, requesting a truce, till through his interest forgiveness of his crimes from the emperor could be ratified; upon the arrival of which, if the Khan would send his eldest son to conduct him, he would submit to his clemency. Bahadur Khan, not aware of his intriguing craft, consented to a truce, and immediately sent off an express to the emperor, then at Hussan Abdal on the borders of Kabul, which arrived at court in thirteen days. A firman was issued in reply, that he should be cautious not to be deceived by the Mahratta, and before he formed any treaty, send Malek Barkhordar, who knew the artifice of Sivaji, with some confidential servants of his own, to sound his secret designs, which he should, when explored, communicate to the emperor, who would then give further orders.

Bahadur Khan, upon the arrival of the firman, dispatched Mahummud Sad Khan and Gangaram Gujarati, confidents of his own, with Malek Barkhordar, to amuse Sivaji. This crafty politician, who had already found time to effect part of his schemes and possess himself of the fort of Panhala, belonging to Bijapur, received the deputies at Ram, and for the first day treated them with all customary honours; but the next, gave them a final answer, saying, "What superiority has your master gained over me, that I should consent to submission? Be gone speedily from hence, or you will be disgraced." Upon hearing this the affrighted deputies returned with an account of their reception to Bahadur Khan, who forwarded it to court. The Emperor, out of his abundant kindness, to console the mortified Khan, promoted him to the rank of seven thousand horse and the title of Khan Jahan Bahadur Kokaltash Zafar Jang; his

eldest brother named Muzzaffar Husain, to the title of Azam Khan, and rank of six thousand; and his sons, one to the title of Muzzaffar Khan, and the other, of Nasarat Khan, with proportionable commands.

The Invasion of the Carnatic, 1677-1678

Sivaji, at this time having made peace with the King of Hyderabad, and received promises and assurances to his perfect satisfaction, went to visit him (1). Adna Pandit (2), the king's minister, though a man of great policy and cunning, and a rival of Sivaji in intrigue, was deceived by his superior art. It was agreed that, joining forces, they should march against the Bijapur sultan, and divide what country they might conquer between them, and afterwards expel the Moghuls from the Deccan. Their first operation was planned against Tanjore, a zemindari belonging to Angoji (3), Shivaji's half brother, tributary to Bijapur.

Sivaji accordingly, having received a great sum of money and large reinforcements of troops from Hyderabad, marched for Tanjore and wrote to Angoji to come and meet him. Angoji, not dreaming of his brother's treachery, came from Tanjore to Jinji, agreeably to his request; and they had an interview, at which Sivaji demanded the treasures which their father Shahji, he said, had left to him. Angoji, now seeing no way for escape but by chicane, humbly told his brother, that the fort of Tanjore, the country, and everything he had, was at his service; which declaration satisfied Sivaji, who supposed he had his brother in his power, and that he could get from him what he pleased; but for once he was deceived. Angoji having returned to his tents, fled the same night, with a few confidential servants, for Tanjore, where he arrived in twenty hours from Jinji, which is distant one hundred and twenty miles from that fort. Sivaji upon this plundered his brother's camp; and having taken possession of Jinji by treachery, as also of some other forts belonging to Bijapur and Hyderabad, into which he put his own garrisons, retreated, and then sent back the Hyderabad troops to their own country. Bahadur Khan hearing of the meeting between Sivaji and the king of Hyderabad, marched into his territories; and having exacted the payment of a large sum of money as a fine, returned to Ahmednagar, where he remained some time, and then encamped for the rains at the great tank of Ferrah Bagh. Ikhlas Khan, Mohakkam Sing, and others who had been wounded and taken prisoners at Sultanghar, being now released, joined the camp at Ahmednagar; and having paid their respects to Bahadur Khan, were re-established in their different ranks. Jadhu Tarai Dekhani and Sidi Halal, who had been sent for the protection of Gulshanabad, having been reprimanded harshly by Bahadur Khan on the Mahrattas entering their neighbourhood, in resentment, deserted to Sivaji's army. As the Mahrattas had invaded the imperial territories, Bahadur Khan marched from Ahmednagar, and, leaving most of his baggage in the fort of Kandahar, advanced with all speed in pursuit of the enemy to the fort of Ramghar, where he learned that they had left

(1) Sivaji visited Abdul Hassan Kutub Shah in February 1677.

(2) Madanna Pandit, the Wazir. (3) Venkoji.

the place two days before, after plundering the town and carrying away some of the wives of the inhabitants prisoners. The Khan, arriving in the vicinity of Hyderabad, plundered and laid waste some places, at the instigation of Diler Khan. Intelligence was brought, that the enemy, who had been at Ramghar, were now divided into two bodies, one of which had passed on the borders of the Hyderabad territories into their own country, and the other near Terk Chandeh were plundering the imperial possessions. Bahadur Khan dispatched Diler Khan, Kutub-ud-Din Khan, and other chiefs after the enemy, who had retreated homewards, and marched in pursuit of the other body himself, sending Baki Khan and Fateh Khan with the artillery and baggage to Aurungabad. He came up with and engaged the enemy at a pass near the fort of Antour (1). Raja Shujan Sing Bundela, and his brother Inder Man, with the Mogul cavalry, formed the advanced guard. The enemy stood firm for some time, till Supkaran Bondela charged the grand body in conjunction with the troops of Balcheram ; when after a short struggle, they fled, and the royal army pursuing them till night, took much spoil and many horses, which had been seized from merchants, to whom they were mostly restored. Bahadur Khan marched the next day through the pass of Antour, and the day after resolved to reach Aurungabad, which was sixteen *kos* distant. A few officers, who had rode on before, fell in with some thousands of the enemy, and defended themselves on an eminence till the army came up, when they fled, and Supkaram Bondela pursued for some *kos*, and killed about four hundred, taking much plunder ; his son Dalpatrao was wounded. The next day Bahadur Khan arrived with the army at Aurungabad, and encamped some time in the neighbourhood of that city. He conferred presents of horses and arms on his gallant officers, and in return for their services, recommended them to His Majesty for promotion to higher rank. He next marched from Aurungabad to Satterah Batterah, thirty *kos* distant, where he encamped. Diler Khan, with his detachment, had pursued the enemy as far as the fort of Meruji in Bijapur, when he returned with much plunder taken from them. As the Mahrattas had for the two last spring harvests made incursions into Khandesh through the hills of Balaghat, Bahadur Khan caused redoubts to be erected in each pass, and artillery, with proper guards, to be stationed in them.

Sivaji's Death, Character and Achievements

Sivaji having marched from his country to invade the imperial territories, totally laid waste the district of Jalner and others ; and his soldiers, notwithstanding his commands to the contrary, offered insults to the servants of Jan Mahummad, a religious, from whose curses it was believed Sivaji was taken ill, and shortly after died. Sivaji was a soldier unequalled, skilled in the arts of government, and a friend to men of virtue and religion. He planned his schemes wisely, and executed them with steadiness. He consulted many on every point, but acted according to that advice, which, after weighing in his own mind, he thought best

(1) Aundha, about 10 miles south of Nasik.

applicable to his designs. No one was ever acquainted with his determinations but by the success of their execution. He built palaces and erected fortifications in every part of his country; and it seemed as if he had the art of seeing all hidden treasures, for wherever his people were sent to make war, he directed them to spots where valuables were buried, as if he had laid them there himself. He kept forty thousand horses in his stables, which he had mounted to action by soldiers named bargirs. Every ten horses had one havildar, who had the care of feeding them, as also one water carrier, and a torch bearer; each hundred had an officer over the ten havildars; and every thousand a chief, who commanded the other ten. Wherever he sent five or six thousand, a chief of consequence commanded on the service. He also entertained men who had their own horses; but the Mahrattas, who had most pay, were bargirs. When he detached an army on service, he supplied his bargirs with clothing and arms; and after the plunder of a country, whatever remained in their hands above their amount, was carried to the account of his treasury. He had numberless informers about his troops; so that if they kept back any money or goods from account, he forced them to give them up.

III.—NICCOLAO MANUCCI'S STORIA DO MOGOR

[Niccolao Manucci, born at Venice in 1639, ran away to sea as a boy of 14, in 1653. This was the beginning of a wonderful series of adventures for the lad. He found on his ship a certain Lord Bellomont, who had left England in order to escape death at the hands of Oliver Cromwell. He became Lord Bellomont's page and travelled with him through Persia to Surat. *En route* to Delhi, his master died, and Manucci enlisted as a gunner in the service of Dara Shikoh, Aurangzeb's gifted but luckless brother, on 80 rupees *per mensem.* Manucci refused, after Dara Shikoh's death, to serve under Aurangzeb, whom he disliked, but he became an officer under Jaisingh Raja, and while in his camp, met Shivaji in June or July 1665. Tiring of the army, Manucci now settled down for a time at Bandra, but later exchanged the profession of arms for that of physic, and in this capacity entered the service of Shah Alum,—now governor of the Deccan (1678). In 1682, he went to Goa, and negotiated a treaty between the Goanese and the Marathas under Sambhaji. Finally, he went to Madras, married, and settled down in practice as a doctor in Madras, where he proved of great use, on account of his linguistic gifts and great local knowledge, to the English authorities. He died there in 1717.

Manucci's *Storia Do Mogor* is a wonderfully racy account of the Moghul Empire. Manucci well earned his title of "the Pepys of Moghul India." He went everywhere and saw everything. Shivaji he knew personally, hence his account of the great captain's career is of unusual interest, coming as it does from a well informed contemporary. On many incidents, *e.g.*, the much discussed death of Afzal Khan, he supplies new and important evidence. The following extracts are, by kind permission of Messrs. John Murray, taken from William Irvine's translation.]

Shaistah Khan sent against Shivaji (1659)

Aurangzeb was very liberal in making promises when he wanted to gain his ends, at the same time having quite made up his mind not to keep his word. His maxim, as I said, was to make use of oaths only to deceive, the truth of which the reader will gather from my history. Thus he broke his word to Shivaji, but it cost him dear. For up to this day on which I write (? 1669) he has quite as much as he can manage to struggle with this single prince. At the end of this book can be seen the acts of Shivaji and the difficulties which were encountered by this great and powerful king on his account. We come now to the beginning of the wars between Shivaji and the Mogul.

Finding himself now fully established as king, Aurangzeb sent Shaistah Khan in fifty-nine (1659) with a powerful army to compel Shivaji to pay tribute, and prohibit him from collecting the revenues conceded to him when the rising against Shahijahan was begun. He treated as

of no account the deed on a plate of copper which he had given to him (Shivaji), whereon was written the grant, as I stated at the end of Part I. Orders were also given to Shaistah Khan to threaten the Kings of Bijapur and Gulkandah, and make them agree to higher tribute. Those pitiful and timorous creatures did as requested by Aurangzeb. But Shivaji did not act thus; he took up arms, and attacking first in one direction and then in another plundered the Mogul country and Bijapur, taking many fortresses and territories.

Descent of Shivaji

May be the reader would like to know who this Shivaji was, and to comply with such a reasonable wish I will place here what I meant to insert elsewhere, in order to make a continuous story of the events in the early part of Aurangzeb's reign. For he who writes to please others must satisfy those others' will, while ever keeping close to historical verity.

Shivaji—that is to say, 'Lord One-and-a-quarter' (1) the first of his family, was the bastard son of a Hindu king, of whom I spoke. His mother was the daughter of a carpenter. When this bastard had grown up, he claimed the crown upon the death of his father, although he had a brother, who was legitimate. As the officers and nobles refused their allegiance, he was forced to flee and apply to the King of Bijapur, who was then powerful. The Bijapur King took him into his service, and gave him some provinces near the town of Chavel (Chaul), as far as Camba (Cambay, Kambhayət), near the lands of the Portuguese towards Bassaim (Bassein) and Bombaim (Bombay) (2)).

He served Bijapur loyally, and so also did his son Shahji; but not so Shivaji, son of Shahji. The latter lived in the family territory while his father was at the court, and began to realize money without sending any to his father. Next he began to enlist men and attack the lands of Bijapur in all directions, giving no heed either to his father or the king. The latter complained to Shahji of Shivaji's temerity, and Shahji replied that his majesty might act as he pleased. His son neither obeyed him nor remitted to him the revenues of their lands, and had already declared himself a rebel to the crown.

The King of Bijapur wrote to Shivaji that his unruly conduct was not the way to respond to the benefits that had been conferred on his grandfather, and were still being shown to his father and himself. He should desist from such courses and repair to the court, where an office would be given him. Shivaji took no notice of this letter, and continued his plundering more vigorously than before, so that the King of Bijapur, finding himself endangered because Shivaji had taken one of his fortresses, determined to send against him a famous general called

(1) A wrong etymology; from Savāi, one and a quarter. The name is obviously that of the Hindu God Shiva, meaning 'auspicious,' 'lucky,' 'fortunate,' followed by the honorific suffix Ji.

(2) Chaul, a town and seaport, 20 miles south of Bombay, lat. 18° 34′ long. 72° 59′; Cambay (Kambhayat), 230 miles north of the same city lat. 22° 18′, long. 72° 39; Bassein, 28 miles north of the same city, lat. 19° 20′, long. 72° 52′.

Afzal Khan. This man pursued Shivaji so persistently that the rebel was forced to take refuge in the mountains. Finding himself powerless for further resistance, he resorted to a trick, writing to Afzal Khan a letter, in which he made excuses, confessed himself a criminal and culprit, and asked the general to intercede for him. He besought pardon from the king.

Afzal Khan replied that he might come in without any hesitation, that he would obtain his pardon from the king, and would be always his protector. But he must appear without delay to obviate the receipt of fresh orders from the king, enjoining further exertions to defeat and capture him. It would be better for himself and for his men to come to a friendly agreement than to allow any opening for the horrors of war. In any case, however, he (Shivaji) could not resist long, the king being so much the more powerful.

Shivaji consented to appear before Afzal Khan, but begged him to come with only five persons to a spot at a distance from the camp, while on his side he (Shivaji) would bring no more than five men. He would fall at his feet and throw himself upon his mercy. Delighted at finding that Shivaji meant to give himself up, Afzal Khan accepted his proposals. At a distance from the camp he caused to be made ready a splendid tent with carpets for the reception of Shivaji, who on his side did not neglect to send messages, imploring Afzal Khan's friendship and assurances of the petitioners being received with affection.

Meanwhile he (Shivaji) so disposed his army for the carrying out of his plot that when he gave the agreed signal, all of them, spurring on their horses, could gallop straight into the royal camp. Shivaji got ready a small and very sharp lancet, which at the top was formed into the shape of a ring with a projecting stone. Pushing a finger into the ring, the lancet was concealed under cover of the hand (1). His five companions received orders that when he embraced the general, they should silently seize their swords, and fall each upon one particular enemy. All the five men with their leader, Shivaji, wore coats of mail beneath their clothes. This precaution was not adopted by Afzal Khan and his five men, nor did they suspect the treachery about to be practised on them.

Afzal Khan was in his tent between the two armies, waiting with great anxiety for the arrival of Shivaji, and building, I fancy, many castles in the air. Then Shivaji appeared with his five men, all on horseback. At some distance from the tent they descended from their horses. Shivaji began to advance, bowing again and again, as if he was petitioning for a good reception and was in a state of apprehension. Afzal Khan beckoned to him with his hands that he might approach without fear; and as Shivaji drew near, Afzal Khan raised his arms as if to embrace him. Shivaji's hands came round him lower down, Afzal Khan being a tall man and very corpulent; then swiftly and forcibly he rent open Afzal Khan's abdomen from the left to the right side, so that the bowels

(1) This is Manucci's version of the famous "Vagh nakh" or tiger's claws.

protruded. The other five men laid hold of their swords and cut to pieces Afzal Khan's companions. The appointed signal was given, and Shivaji's soldiers arriving, fell upon the army of Afzal Khan, and being taken unawares, it could not resist the impetus of Shivaji, more especially now its general was gone. Everything was thrown into confusion, and the men took to flight. But Shivaji had adopted measures by which the passes into the hills were already occupied by his soldiers, and thus the whole of the royal army was disposed of. He became more powerful than ever through the plunder in horses, arms, and money that he acquired.

From this time Shivaji began to plunder the territories of the Mogul in addition to those of Bijapur. He took various strongholds more frequently by deceit than by force of arms. He ravaged towns and cities, above all Surat (1), where he remained seven days with seven thousand horsemen, gathering all that there was of gold and silver in that famous part. It was through the reputation thus acquired by Shivaji as a valiant and quick-witted man that Aurangzeb, when Viceroy in the Dakhin, conceded to him the lands of which I have already spoken so as to make use of him in case of necessity. Aurangzeb's object was to have someone on his side in case he failed in his attempt to become king, and he knew how defensible Shivaji's territories were, owing to their situation among hills.

Shivaji wounds Shaistah Khan

At the beginning of this my second part I said that Aurangzeb had sent his uncle, Shaistah Khan, to make war against Shivaji in the Dakhin. As soon as he reached the lands of Shivaji he took a small fortress called Puna. Outside it he lived in a mud house that he had caused to be built near a tank. There he meant to pass the rainy season.

Shivaji sought every means of killing Shaistah Khan, being thus counselled (so they say) by Rajah Jaswant Singh, who would have liked to appropriate the treasury of Shaistah Khan. He (Shivaji) came to the resolve to send bold and resolute men among the soldiers and into the dwelling of Shaistah Khan. They were to pretend to be dependents of Shaistah Khan, so that they could carry out the plot in security and digging through the house wall should slay whatever men and women were found therein.

To put in execution such a plan, he availed himself of the custom among the Moghuls of sounding their military music eight times in the day and night upon the anniversary of the king's coronation (2). This takes place near the headquarters of the general—namely, in the morning at six, at nine, at noon, at three in the afternoon, at six, at nine, at midnight, and at three of the next day. For his purpose, he chose the hour of midnight, at the time the musicians began to play. Some of Shivaji's soldiers, pretending to belong to the household of Shaistah Khan, went back and

(1) Surat was taken on January 5, 1664 (? O. S.). Shivaji was there six days.

(2) This would be the anniversary of the accession held on the 1st day of the 6th year, 1st Ramazan, 1073 H. (April 9, 1663, N. S.).

fore saying to the musicians that as it was a night of rejoicing, the Nawab wished them to make a great sound with their instruments, the whole of them playing together. This was done that no one might hear when they were digging into the house.

The women heard the sound of the picks, and reported to Shaistah Khan. He paid no heed to their statements, being already somewhat elevated by wine, but said the noise was made by troopers driving in pegs for their horse's heel-ropes. Shivaji's soldiers entered by the hole they had dug. The women were in consternation, not being accustomed to see men in their apartments; and thus they cried aloud, assuming there must be treachery on foot. The eldest son of Shaistah Khan called Buzurg Omedcan (Buzurg Umed Khan), ran in that direction sword in hand, but his valour served but to get his head cut off, the soldiers of Shivaji using their swords against every one they encountered (1). The women perceived there was a design by the enemy to assassinate the Nawab Shaistah Khan. They lamented, saying that Shaistah Khan was killed, and they blew out the lamps, so that no one might see him.

The enemy rushed hither and thither, and, unable to see, eight of them fell into a tank. Shaistah Khan stood, spear in hand, ready to resist anyone coming at him. On their finding him, he managed to kill one, but another delivered a sword-stroke, which cut off his index finger and severed the spear staff. These daring men heard the voices of the women who were saying that the Nawab was already dead; and concluding they had effected their purpose they came away to their own camp.

I leave it to the reader to imagine the confusion existing in the camp during that night, everyone imagining that Shivaji was in their midst and slaying all men without intermission. In this confusion Shaistah Khan's sufferings from his wound were increased from not being able to call in any surgeon for fear that in place of a surgeon, some traitor might gain admittance. When Aurangzeb, being then in Kashmir, received a report of this treachery, it being a little after his hearing the news of Mir Jumlah's death, he wrote to Shaistah Khan directing him to proceed as Governor to Bengal. In reply, Shaistah Khan prayed His Majesty to leave him in the Dakhin, for he longed to wreak vengeance for his son's death and the loss of his limb occasioned by Shivaji's treachery. He took upon himself either to lose his own life or to destroy Shivaji's army and kill Shivaji himself. A fresh order issued from Aurangzeb directing him peremptorily to remove to Bengal, but Shaistah Khan,

(1) Manucci mistakes the name of the son killed, who was Abu'l Fath Khan; Buzurg Umed Khan did not die till the 8th Rajab, 1106 H., (February 22, 1695), when he was Governor of Allahabad. The Ma'asir-ul-Umara, ii. 690-702, tells us of Shaistah Khan's doings. He replaced Muazzam Khan (Mir Jumlah) some time in 1069 H. (1659). He took up quarters for the rains at Puna, but went out to besiege Chaknah, which was taken after 56 days on the 16th Zu, l Hijjah, third year (August 13, 1661). He then returned to Puna. Shivaji's attack was early in the 6th year, which began on April 9, 1663. Abul Fath Khan was killed. The report was received on May 8, 1663; Aurangzeb was displeased, and thought Shaistah Khan had been negligent. On May 13, 1663, Prince Muazzam started from Kashmir to replace him in the Dakhin (Alamgir-namah, 819). Shaistah Khan lost his forefinger.

anxious to gain a reputation for courage and also eager for vengeance, wrote once more to the King asking to be left in the Dakhin, where he would bear all the expenses of the war until Shivaji was destroyed. At the same time he wrote to his friends to save him from removal.

His friends at court did loyally all that they could to assist Shaistah Khan; but Aurangzeb was immoveable in his determination, and replied with severity that a man in a passion could never act with prudence and that the stay of Shaistah Khan in the Dakhin as leader against Shivaji could result in nothing but the loss of his army. He therefore wrote to him once again that without further discussion he must start for Bengal. Thus was Shaistah Khan sent against his will to take charge of the Province of Bengal. When Shaistah Khan left the Dakhin, Aurangzeb recalled Jaswant Singh to court, who instead of obeying retired to his own territory. Aurangzeb ordered Mahabat Khan (1) to march with all rapidity possible to take up the office of Shaistah Khan and continue the campaign against Shivaji, sending also his own son, Shah Alam, not as Commander, but as representative of the royal person in matters of parade.

Shivaji goes to Court and after some months takes to flight

Diler Khan, being habituated to treachery, wished several times to kill Shivaji, and to this intent solicited Rajah Jai Singh to take his life, or at least to give him (Diler Khan) leave to do so. He would assume all responsibility, and see that the Rajah was held blameless. He said the king would rejoice at such a result. For Shivaji's valour and intrepidity would never give any rest to the Mogul. But Rajah Jai Singh, who had pledged his word and oath not to allow of a murder, but rather that the king should treat Shivaji with great honour, never listened to the words of Diler Khan. On the contrary he made arrangements to send Shivaji to Court well guarded; and he wrote to his heir, Ram Singh, to take precautions against the king's murdering Shivaji. For he had pledged his word, confirmed by an oath, to protect him. Better would it be for his house to be extirpated than to permit Aurangzeb, under cover of his words, to organize treachery.

Upon Shivaji's arrival at Delhi the king caused him to appear in his presence,(2) and instead of giving him the promised position, which was to be the highest in his audience-hall, he caused him to be assigned the lowest place in the first circle of nobles within the golden railing. Shivaji was much hurt at this deed of Aurangzeb's, which did not conform to the promises received, and angry (so to speak) at being still alive, he said

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(1) Mahabat Khan in the fifth year (1662-63), had been removed from Kabul to Gujarat. In the eleventh year (1668-69) he was sent back to Kabul. His formal appointment to the Dakhin is not recorded; but after Shivaji's attack on Surat (1664), Mahabat Khan had an engagement with him in that neighbourhood. Surat was in the Gujarat province (see Ma'asir-Ul-Umara iii 590, 592 and 'Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri,' 71). Prince Mua'zzam at this time was about twenty-one.

(2) According to the 'Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri,' 55, line 6, the audience took place on the 18th Zu l Quadah, 1076 H. (May 22, 1666).

resolutely to Aurangzeb that the position allotted was not according to that promised to him under oath, nor to the agreement made with Rajah Jai Singh. From this his first reception he could well surmise what would come to pass thereafter. Let Aurangzeb remember that the officers in His Majesty's presence, with the exception of Namdar Khan,(1) who was a good soldier, were the rest of them so many old women, whom he had overcome in the field with the greatest ease. Thus not one of them deserved the position he held. Then in anger he came out.

Everybody imagined that Aurangzeb would order him to be slain; but Aurangzeb was not moved to display passion openly, and only carried out his design in secrecy. He gave a sign that they were to talk Shivaji over, for at that time it was not known what he might want to state to the court. Some of them came out and managed to console him, saying it was the habit of the King of Hindustan not to give forthwith the first place to those who had newly come to court. But he was certain to do so afterwards; for he held him in high esteem as a valiant captain. But he must wait with patience for a few days.

In the interval Aurangzeb issued orders that he should be escorted to his tent and, as sentries over him they should post round his tent three corps of guards. This was until the palace of Fida, e Khan(2) could be made ready for him. Thus he dwelt some months in a tent; and finding there was no appearance either of the execution of the royal promises or of an opportunity of flight from the hands of Aurangzeb, he sent to ask permission for his soldiers and captains to leave for their own country.

This Aurangzeb accorded, and was contented to detain the persons of Shivaji, of Sambhaji, his son, and of Netuji, (3) the most renowned captain in Shivaji's service.

Shivaji, on the advice of Ram Singh, son of Rajah Jai Singh, who was one of the captains on guard over him, sent several times each week large covered baskets of sweetmeats to be shared among the officers and others. Aurangzeb took no precautions about this, acute though he was, for he supposed such presents were sent by Shivaji by reason of his desire to give alms in thanks to God for his freedom. When the adornment of Fida, e Khan's mansion was completed he (Aurangzeb) gave orders under the pretext of honouring Shivaij, that on the

(1) This must be meant for Namdar Khan, the son of Jafar Khan, Wazir, by Farzanah Begam, sister of Mumtaz Mahal. Early in the reign he served under Jaswant Singh in the Dakhin, but was recalled to court in the 7th year (1664-65) (Ma' asir-ul-Umara, iii, 830). In part III, 33, Manucci claims this noble as a great friend of his.

(2) Azam Khan Kokah, brother of Bahadur Khan, and Governor of Lahore.

(3) Netuji Palkar (called Nathuji by Khafi Khan, ii, 191, etc.) became sarnaubat, or general of Shivaji's cavalry, in 1657 or 1658, and from that time was conspicuous in all the Maratha campaigns until 1664 (Grant-Duff, 74, 76, 81, 86). The Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri, 58, calls him the khwesh (son-in-law) of Shivaji. Grant Duff throws doubt on his conversion, but the Ma' asir-i-Alamgiri, 60, gives the date of his circumcision at the first Shawwal, tenth year, 1077 H. (March 27, 1667). His new name was Murshid Quli Khan.

succeeding morning he should be removed to the said mansion, it being intended that he should be smothered there and buried on the spot.

Ram Singh, fully carrying out his father's instructions and sufficiently acquainted with Aurangzeb's character, had spent money without stint to obtain reports of any orders issued by the king either in favour of or against Shivaji. He thus heard of the royal order. Without delay Shivaji was informed, and he sent out to buy the large covered baskets of sweetmeats as usual. Then, concealing himself within one, he arranged to be carried away, he and his son, to a place of security, whence with good riding-horses he could take flight for his own country. Thus was it carried out. At seven o'clock in the evening, having succeeded in getting away without anyone suspecting, Shivaji made use of the preparations made in the villages and woods, as arranged by Ram Singh, and escaped without detention into his own country.(1)

Next morning they went to remove Shivaji to the mansion where his life was to be taken. On entering the tent they saw a turban at the side of the cushion as if he were still asleep. They waited for a time, then once more they went to look if he was awake. But what was lying there was not able to move on any account! Thus they went in several times without noticing any movement, nor did they hear any snoring. They uncovered him gently to find out if he was alive or dead. By this inspection they were undeceived, and at once reported to Ram Singh, who went to the king before any one else could speak to him. After making his bow, he stood, with a cast-down countenance, in perfect silence. Aurangzeb was puzzled by this change, Ram Singh being ordinarily of a jovial expression. He asked what this dejection meant, and why he had not gone home. Ram Singh replied in a low voice that, he had bad news, namely, that Shivaji had disappeared.

Aurangzeb was much put out by this event, and raising his hand to his head as if plunged in thought, he sent out orders throughout the realm for Shivaji to be traced. But Shivaji was already far on his road, traversing in one night what would have taken anyone else three days and three nights. In this way it was impossible to catch him, his way being through jungles and mountains, places through which it is very difficult to pass. Being afraid that Netuji also might disappear, Aurangzeb forced him into accepting service, and sent him off to the other side of the river (the Indus) to fight under Mahabat Khan.

Shah Alam Negotiates with Shivaji

At the time that Shah Alam was in Aurangabad he began to write to Shivaji,(2) hoping to draw the fox into the trap. He therefore wrote to him secretly with many professions of friendship, after which he asked for advice whether, now that he had his father's army under him and the officers on his side, he would not do well to rebel, and do as his

(1) According to the 'Alamgirnamah,' 971, line 16, Shivaji escaped in the night of the 27th Safar, ninth year, 1077 H. (August 29, 1666), the court being then at Agra (*ibid.* 1021, line 10). He reached the Dakhin in December, 1666, after an absence of 9 months.

(2) See Grant Duff, 98, 99, years 1667, 1668; and Catrou, part iii, 77-80.

father had done to Shahjahan. Shivaji's reply was that the opportunity was favourable, and if he did not make his attempt then, it might be that he would never again have the same easy chance. Shah Alam thought that already Shivaji was approaching the trap and therefore continued to send friendly letters. In them he stated that he had now made up his mind to make the attempt, but he prayed him to join in the enterprise. He pledged his word that if the plan succeeded he would without fail make him prince of all the Dakhin; he would never break his word as his father had done.

Shivaji, who pretended not to penetrate the designs of Aurangzeb, wrote to Shah Alam that most willingly would he join him and take vengeance upon Aurangzeb, and by his death put an end to the wars in the south. But, not having the cash required for a sound campaign, it was necessary for him to receive a large sum of money. With this he would collect his men, who at the time of his imprisonment had gone to their homes. In addition, he must have authority to plunder several wealthy towns and villages. After that task was done, he gave his word that he would join. All this was conceded by Shah Alam, a large sum of money was sent, and he (Shivaji) was allowed to plunder in all directions. By this means Shivaji grew rich, and recruited many men and strengthened his fortresses.

Shah Alam pretends to revolt in the hope of seizing Shivaji

During this interval Shah Alam employed his commanders in matters of little importance, strict orders being given them not to enter into the territories of Shivaji. From this cause these officers, who were not then in the secret, wrote letter after letter to Aurangzeb, informing him that they could not make out the intentions of Shah Alam, who was wasting their time, whilst Shivaji went on robbing and plundering, to the great damage of the Dakhin. Diler Khan wrote with the others, but more bitterly.(1)

But Aurangzeb, who knew the orders he had given to his son, concealed everything, and replied to the officers, telling them to obey and take no notice of Shah Alam's acts; but if he did not do well, he would recall him to court. Meanwhile he wrote letters to Shah Alam praising him for his mode of working, and told him to build a bridge of gold for Shivaji, so as to bring him into his camp.

Things were in this condition when Shah Alam, assuming that Shivaji must be now satisfied, wrote him one more letter begging him not to delay his arrival, for he (Shah Alam) began to fear his father might discover the plot he had in hand. Shivaji replied that he was then ready to move, but he wanted an assurance that Rajah Jaswant Singh and the other officers had declared themselves on the prince's side. When he was quite certain of this, he would most certainly appear in the imperial camp with all his army. Satisfied with such a response,

(1) For the official document of the rebellion, see 'Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri,' 100. The report was received after the 28th Zu, I Hijah of the 13th year, 1080 H. (May 19, 1670).

Shah Alam began to talk to Rajah Jaswant Singh, who not being well affected to Aurangzeb, accepted the proposal at once. Thus one by one, all of them subscribed the document, in which Shah Alam made separate promises to each.

Finding now that he had procured the signatures of the greater number of his officers to the agreement to rebel, Shah Alam ordered Diler Khan to come to him in audience, as he had something to tell him. The talk was intended to be about the rebellion, and Shah Alam hoped, by thus sending for Diler Khan the last of all, that he would be able, by pointing to the example of the others, to draw him over more easily to his faction. But Diler Khan already aware of the plot for a rebellion, put no trust in Shah Alam, knowing how very sharp-witted Aurangzeb was; hence all this plotting might be make-believe. Thus, to protect himself, he sent word to Shah Alam that he had nothing whatever to do at his audience, being in the King's service. He was there in the field, ready to go out to fight in any direction he might desire; such an order he would obey forthwith, but to his audience he would not go.

It was in vain that Shah Alam resorted to every device to bring over Diler Khan to his side, for the king was desirous of getting rid of Diler Khan out of his sight. But this general, fully experienced by this time in every subtlety, would never consent to appear in audience. He perceived that even if Shah Alam really rose in rebellion and obtained mastery over the kingdom, he would not lose any reputation by abstention, for his proved fidelity would continue to make him esteemed.

Finding that he could not convince Diler Khan, Shah Alam passed him over and sent the document signed by the other generals to Shivaji. He added that, to secure the proposed object—that is, to make himself master of the kingdom by seizing his father—all that was now wanting was the aid of Shivaji's valour and his powerful army. With this intent he would take the field fully resolved and begin his march. He prayed Shivaji earnestly not to delay, and thereby give Aurangzeb time to collect more soldiers; for he (Shah Alam) had not then under him more than ten thousand horsemen, and with them he could not resist the valour and fury of so great an army as his father's. He would publish it to all the world that his ally was the famous Shivaji, who was executing righteous vengeance for the treachery that Aurangzeb had practised on him.

Thus did Shah Alam take the field, announcing to the world that he was on his way to Delhi to seize his father and crown himself king. As a demonstration that he already felt the sceptre in his hand, he granted large pay to his generals, distributed governments, granted provinces, remitted tribute. In this way the kingdom was filled with the rumour; and as happens in rebellions, some rejoiced at the rising, others complained that they would be ruined and destroyed, that there would be an end of the prosperity then beginning to prevail in Aurangzeb's reign. All this was mere child's play; but at the head of the game were persons who meant to carry out a plot of great profit to the Mogul.

Aurangzeb feigned to be much terrified, and showed great alarm at this rebellion. To bear this out, he ordered the treasure-houses to be opened and preparation to be made for taking the field, and he began to engage additional men for his army. Meanwhile he sent Fida, e Khan, with the ten thousand horsemen then present to hold the fords on the river Chambal, where Dara had taken up his position against Aurangzeb at the first battle of which I spoke. He then got ready mules and camels to be loaded with gold, as if in preparation for flight. He started a rumour to that effect.

Fida, e Khan, to show what a valiant man he was, after having erected his tents at the place alluded to, sent a message to the king that he might take his ease. For, so long as one soldier was left in the camp, Shah Alam should never be allowed to advance ; and even if any disaster happened, His Majesty would still have time to retire whenever he pleased. Fida, e Khan was a brave soldier, of whom I shall have something to say farther on, but he was guilty of this rhodomontade with the idea of procuring the royal favour. He had already some idea of the real state of the case.

Aurangzeb simulated fear in the hope of increasing Shivaji's willingness to join the undertaking, and of a truth it was necessary to be very skilful if you were to hit the bull's-eye through all this deception. Having great natural judgment, and by this time great experience, Shivaji mocked at the cunning fox, after having attained his own ends by adding to his own wealth and power. For, in place of joining Shah Alam, he wrote him a letter in which he said that, since Aurangzeb had only 10 thousand horsemen, while he (Shah Alam) had over a hundred and twenty thousand combatants, he might march by himself on the said enterprise. It was very easy of accomplishment. He would take care that no one should come to seize the Dakhin, and he gave his word that during that time he would not realize for himself any more of the revenue than what Aurangzeb had conceded to him when Viceroy of the Dakhin.

Shah Alam was thunderstruck at such a reply, which he sent on at once to the King. Nevertheless, he continued his march to prove that he was in earnest, and dispatched letter upon letter to Shivaji, begging him not to desert him at this crisis. For it was on his advice alone that he had made up his mind to enter on such an undertaking ; if he did not assist him, it was impossible to carry out the enterprise. Of a truth, any one else than Shivaji would have fallen into the net. But he stuck firmly to his text, that he would not meet the Mogul army otherwise than sword in hand and ready to cut off heads. He merely sent word that the prince ought to proceed and deliver battle. If by ill-luck any harm happened to him, he had always a friend on whom he could rely. The officers who had signed the paper solicited Shah Alam not to desert them nor leave the king time to collect an army. Thus they continued the march, already assured, as they thought, of victory and of a new King.

The Deception is Discovered

When quite certain that his plot had ended in smoke, that it was impossible to cheat Shivaji, and there was a fear that through the insistence of the officers, chiefly of Rajah Jaswant Singh, fiction might be turned into reality, Aurangzeb sent off an officer called Abdul Jafar.(1) His orders were to seize with one hand Shah Alam's horse's rein, and with the other hold out to him a letter adding in a loud voice that by order of the great Aurangzeb he must return to the place whence he had come nor advance a single step farther.

At such words Shah Alam, Bahadur, betrayed terror ; his face grew pale and he now displayed not valour, but consternation. He ordered a retreat upon Burhanpur and Aurangabad. The reader may here imagine for himself the fear and confusion into which the generals were thrown. They were discovered as traitors, while Diler Khan passed on in pride, not having accepted the proposal. It is certainly the fact that they were all greatly perturbed, knowing that if Aurangzeb did not pardon traitors who were of use to him, he would certainly never pardon those who had wanted to thrust him forth from the royal seat.

The war against Shivaji began anew ; but Aurangzeb had lost trust in the generals in the Dakhin and displaced them sending other captains in their place. Among others he sent Bahadur Khan. The displaced officers were sent elsewhere as viceroys and governors, and he kept them ever on the move from one government to another so long as he lived. Rajah Jaswant Singh was dispatched to the other side of the river Indus.(2) The rajah, although he made terrible grimaces, still obeyed for fear that Aurangzeb might attack him and ruin his family. Shah Alam went off to Aurangabad, abandoning to Bahadur Khan charge of the campaign against Shivaji. To the new commander Aurangzeb issued orders to defend the Dakhin from the ravaging of Shivaji ; he was also ordered to attack Bijapur. Aurangzeb saw that unless he occupied that kingdom, he would never be able to destroy Shivaji ; but of these campaigns I will speak hereafter, so that I may not depart from the order of time.

Shivaji enters the Carnatic to make War

Shivaji had no idea of allowing his soldiers' swords to rust. He therefore asked the King of Gulkandah to grant him a passage on his way to a campaign in the Carnatic(3) against certain princes who had risen against Bijapur and Gulkandah. The King of Gulkandah having consented to his passing through he came to the Carnatic, and there, by his valour and determination, he took a great fortress called Gingi

(1) The 'Ma 'asir-i-Alamgiri,' 101, says Iftikhar Khan (Sultan Husain) was sent. For this man, see 'M-ul-U,' i. 252 ; he died in 1092 H. (1681-1682).

(2) Jaswant Singh was made Thanhadar of Jamrud (in the Khaibar Pass) in the fourteenth year, 1082 H. (1671). Bahadur Khan's appointment to the Dakhin was made in Shawwal of the 16th year, 1083 H. (January-February, 1673). On this occasion he was granted a title of Khan Jahan, Bahadur ('Ma'asir-i-Alamgiri,' 109, line 10 ; 127, last line).

(3) Grant-Duff, 123. Shivaji was at Golkondah early in 1677 ; at Jinji in May of that year ; the investment and capture of Vellur followed. Three other forts were taken.

(Jinji).(1) It includes seven fortifications upon hills. There are many princes in the Carnatic, but they would not agree to a joint defence; then he, like a dexterous falcon, pounced upon them, and took many other fortesses of great value, and lands containing many subjects of the Bijapur kingdom. By these victories he increased his strength, and subsequently was able to resist the armies of Aurangzeb. But in the course of these victories he met with one cause of vexation, for his son, Shambaji, was a man of unruly habits, who seized other men's wives. This gave rise to complaints from the officers and others; and their dissatisfaction was likely to be the cause of great injury to Shivaji, if thereby any revolt were occasioned. Finding that Shambaji would not listen to his words, his father decided to have him seized and sent as a prisoner to some fortress. He intended then to leave the crown to his younger son, called Ram Raja, in these days known under the designation of Shivaji. But Sambaji became aware of his father's intentions, and knowing that the king(? Aurangzeb) would be delighted to have him within his territories, he made an appeal to him, and was received most amicably (2).

Shah Alam goes to Aurangabad and the Death of Shivaji

It was in this year that Aurangzeb, dissatisfied at the way in which Bahadur Khan was conducting the war against Shivaji and Bijapur, ordered him to be superseded by Diler Khan, and directed him to return to Court. He came, but with such ostentation that Aurangzeb was forced to show his displeasure. He took away his pay and rank, and paid no farther attention to him. He remained in this position for some time, until Shah Alam interceded for him in such a way that in the end the king gave way to the Prince's petitions, and restored his pay and rank. But this caused no improvement in Bahadur Khan, who remained as convinced as ever that the king was under some obligation to allow him his pay and rank, or even greater than that he held.

Meanwhile Diler Khan did what he could to defend himself from Shivaji, who did nothing but plunder in every direction. It was not possible to attack his territory as they lay among hills very difficult of access, forming as it were a defence unto themselves. For if any force penetrated them, the passes were so easily closed behind them, that the greater portion of the invaders were kept there unable to do anything. The most that Diler Khan could do was to fight with Bijapur and Gulkandah; and from consideration of this war, Aurangzeb once more ordered Shah Alam to the Dakhin. Shivaji, to show how little he thought of Shah Alam, advanced to the gates of Aurangabad without Shah Alam being able to do anything—nay, he was in great fear lest

(1) Jinji, lat. 12°, 16′, long. 79°, 27′, eighty-two miles south-west of Madras.

(2) Grant-Duff, 129, has this under the year 1679, but he says Sambaji was actually a prisoner of his father at Panalla, and then escaped to the Moghuls under Diler Khan.

Shivaji might attack the suburbs and sack the whole environs (1). For he had such vigilant spies that he was informed of the places where this man and the other had buried their wealth through fear of him. But Shivaji could not tarry long, for by rushing hither and thither he tired himself out, and died vomiting blood in one thousand six hundred and seventy-nine (2).

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(1) Grant Duff, 129, ascribes this event to 1679, and says the place plundered was Jalnah, where Shivaji remained three days without Shah Alam moving from Aurangabad, a distance of a little over forty miles (see Khafi Khan, ii, 270, 271).

(2) The Ma' asir-i-Alamgiri, 194, line 7, and the 'Tarikh-i-Muhammadi, state that Shivaji died on the 24th Rabi II of the twenty-third year, 1091H. (May 22, 1680, N.S.)' The latter describes him as Shivaji, Bhonslah, son of Sahiji, a big man in the Dakhin and a gainer of victories; while the former yields the detail that, having come in from a ride, he vomited blood twice through excess of heat. Grant-Duff's date (p. 131) is April 5, 1680. Kafir ba-Jahannum raft (An infidel went to hell) is a chronogram for the event. See above, pp. 155 and 169, note 4.

IV.—THE REV. JOHN L'ESCALIOT'S NARRATIVE OF THE FIRST SACK OF SURAT, 1664

[This is a graphic description by an eye-witness of the first sack of Surat, and the terrible barbarities inflicted on the unfortunate Hindu inhabitants by the Marathas. The writer, the Rev. John L'Escaliot, was the chaplain of the English factory of Surat, and the letter was dated January 26th, a few days after the event, so that the facts were fresh in his mind. This letter was found in the papers of Sir Thomas Browne, and by a mistake, was originally printed in his works, but it is now known to have been addressed to his brother George at Norwich. His description of Sivaji "of a mean stature, erect and of an excellent proportion; active in exercise, and whenever he speaks, seems to smile; a quick and piercing eye, and whiter than any of his people," is the most vivid pen-picture, by an eye-witness, of the great captain, which has come down to us; it should be compared with Thévenot's "little, swarthy man, with sharp, fiery eyes." Full accounts of the contemporary documents bearing upon the first sack of Surat may be consulted in Sir William Foster's *English Factories in India*, 1661-1664.]

A letter from the Rev. L'Escaliot to his Brother

SURAT, JANUARY 26TH, 1664

"Thus farr, deare Bro(ther), I had wrote on Tuesday, the 5 of January, about ten in the morning, when on a suddan a strong alarme was brought to our house from the towne, with news that Seva-jee, Raya or principall governour (for such assume not the name of kings to themselves, but yet endeavour to bee as absolute, each in his province, as his sword can make him), was coming downe with an army of uncertaine number upon Surat to pillage the citty; wich newes strooke no small consternation into the mindes of a weake and efeminate people, in soe much that on all hands there was nothing to bee seene but people flying for their lives and lamenting the loss of their estates. The richer sort, whose stocke of mony was large enough to purchase that favour at the hands of the Governour of the Castle, made that their sanctuary and abandoned their dwellings to a merciless foe; wich thay might well enough have defended, with the rest of the towne, had they had the heartes of men.

The same day a post coms in and tells them that the army was come within tenne course(1) or English miles and made all hast forward; wich put the cowardly and unfaithfull Governour of the towne to send a servant to Seva-Gee to treat of some conditions of ransome. But Seva-Gee retaines the messenger and marches forewards with all speed, and that night lodged his camp about five miles English from the citty; and the Governour perceiveing well that his mesenger returned not again and that Seva-Gee did not intend to treat at that distance, he craves admission into the Castle and obtaineth it, and soe deserted his towne.

(1) *Kos.*

The citty of Surat is the only port on this side India wich belongs to the Mogol, and stands upon a river commodious enough to admit vessells of 1000 tun 7 milles up ; at wich distance from the sea there stands a reasonable strong castle, well manned and haveing great store of good guns mounted for the securing of the river. At a convenient distance on the north, east, and south sides of the castle is the city of Surrat, built of a large extent and very populous, rich in marchandise, as being the mart for the great empire of the Mogol, but ill contrived into narrow lanes and without any forme ; and for buildings consists partly of brik (see the houses of the richer sort) partly of wood ; the maine posts of wich sort only are timber, the rest is built of bambooes (as they call them) or caines, such as those youe make your angles (*i.e.*, fishing rods) (of) at Norwich, but very large, and these being tyed together with the cords made of coconutt rinde, and being dawbed over with dirt, are the walls of the whole house and floors of the upper story of their houses. Now the number of the poore exceedingly surmounting the number of those of some quality, there bamboo houses are increassed unmeasurably ; soe that in the greatter part of the towne scarce two or three brick houses are to bee seen in a street, and in some part of the towne not one for many streets togather. Those houses wich are built of bricke are usually built strong, their walls of 2 or 2½ feete thicke and the roofes of them flat and covered with a plaster like plaster of Paris, wich makes most comodious places to take the evening aire in the hotter seasons.

The whole towne is unfortified, either by art or nature. Its situation is upon a large plaine of many miles extent and their care hath beene soe little to secure it by art that thay have only made against the cheefe avenues of the towne some weake and ill built gates, and for the rest in some parts a dry ditch easiely passable by a footman, wanting a wall or other defence on the innerside ; the rest is left soe open that scarce any signe of a ditch is perceiveable.

The people of the towne are either the marchants (and those of all nations almost, as English, Dutch, Portugalls, Turkes, Arabs, Armenians, Persians, Jewes, Indians of severall sorts, but principally Banians), or els Moores, the conquerers of the country, Hindues or the ancient inhabitants, or Persees, whoe are people fled out of Persia ages agoe and heere, and some miles up the country, settled in great numbers. The Banian is one whoe thinks it the greatest wickedness to kill any creature whatsoever that hath life, least posibly they might bee the death of their father or relation ; and the Persee doth supperstitiously adore the fire as his god, and thinks it an unpardonable sin to throw watter upon it ; soe that if a house bee fired or their clothes upon their backs burning thay will, if thay can, hinder any man from quenching it. The Moores are troubled with none of these superstitions, but yet through the unworthy covetousness of the Governour of the towne thay had noe body to head them nor none unto whome to joyne themselves, and soe fled away for company ; whereas, if there had beene 500 men trayned and in a readyness, as by order from the King there ever should (whose pay the Governour puts into his owne pocket), the number to defend the

citty would have amounted to some thousands. This was the condition of the citty at the tyme of its invasion.

The invader Seva Gee is (as I have said) by extraction a Rayar or a Governour of a small country on the coast southwards of Basine, and was formerly a tributary to the King of Vijapore, but being of an asspiring and ambitious minde, subtile, and withall a soldier, hee rebells against the King, and partly by a fraude, partly by force, partly by corruption of the Kings governours of the Kings castles, seaseth many of them into his hands, and with all parte of a country for wich the King of Vijapore paid tribute to the Mogol. His insolencys were soe many, and his success soe great, that the King of Vijapore thought it high tyme to indevoer his supression, or els all would be lost. Hee raises his armies, but is worsted soe every where by the rebell that hee is forced to conditions, to release homage to Sevagee of those landes wich hee held of him, and for the rest Sevagee was to make good his possession against the Mogol as well as hee could.

After some tyme of forbearance the Mogol demands his tribute from him of Vijapore, whoe returns answer that hee had not possession of the tributary lands, but that thay were detayned from him by his rebbell, whoe was growne too stroong for him. Upon this the Mogol makes warr both upon the King of Vijapore and Sevagee, but as yet without any considerable success. Many attempts hath been made, but still frusterated, either by the cuning or vallour or mony of Sevagee, but now of late Kuttup Chawne,(1) an Umbraw(2) who posessed (passed ?) by Surrat since I arrived, with 5000 men and 14 ellephants, and had 9000 men more wich marched another way towa(r)ds their randevouz, as wee hear hath taken from him a strong castle and (made ?) some impression into his country ; to devert wich ware, it is probable he tooke this resolletion for invation of this country of Guzurat.

His person is discribed by them whoe have seen him to bee of meane stature, lower some what then I am, erect, and of an excellent proportion ; active in excersise, and when ever hee speaks seemes to smile ; a quicke and peercing eye, and whitter then any of his people. Hee is disstrustfull, seacret, subtile, cruell, perfidious, insulting over whomsoever he getts into his power, absolute in his commands and in his punishments more than severe, death or dismembering being the punishment of every offence ; if nesessity require, venterous and desperate in execution of his resolves, as may appeare by this following instance.

The King (of) Vijapore sends downe his unckell, a most accompleshed soldier, with 14,000 men into Sevagees country. The knowne vallour and experience of the man made Sevagee conclude that his best way was to assasinate him in his owne armye by a suddan surprise. This conduct of this attempt, how dangerous soever, would have been undertaken by many of his men, of whose conduct hee might have asured himselfe, but it seemes he would have the action wholly his owne. Hee therefore, with 400 as desperate as himselfe, enters the army, undiscovered comes to the Genaralls tent, falls in upon them, kills the guard, the Genaralls sonn, wounds the father (whoe hardly escaped),

(1) Kutb Khan. (2) Omrah.

seiseth on his daughter and carries her away prisoner, and forceth his way backe through the whole army and returnes safe without any considerable loss. And afterward in dispight of all the King of Vij (a) pore could doe, hee tooke Rajapore, a great port, plundered it, and seised our English marchants, Mr. Revington, Mr. Taylor, and digged up the English house for treasure, and kept the marchants in prison about eight months.

Wedenesday the 6th January, about 11 in the morning, Sevagee arrived neere a great garden without the towne about ¼ of a mile, and whilst hee was busied in pitching his tents sent his horsmen into the outward streets cf the towne to fire the houses ; soe that in less then halfe an houer wee might behold from the tops of our house two great pillars of smoke, the certaine signs of a great disolation, and soe thay continued burning that day and night. Thursday, Friday and Satturday still new fires raised, and every day neerer and neerer approaching our quarter of the towne.

That the terror was great I know youe will eassly beleeve. And upon his first begining of his firing the remainder of the people fled as thicke as possible ; sc that on Thursday, the streets were almost empty, wich at other tymes are exceeding thicke with people ; and we the English in our house, the Duch in theirs, and some few marchants of Turky and Armenia, neighbours to our English House, possessed of a seraw(1) or place of reception for straingers, were left by the Governour and his people to make what shift wee could to secure ourselves from the enemy. This might the English and Duch have done, leaveing the towne and goeing over the river to Swalley to our shipps, wich were then riding in Swalley Hole ; but it was thought more like English men to make ourselves ready to defend cur lives and goods to the uttermost than by a flight to leave mony, goods, house to merceless people and were confirmed in a resolution that the Duch alsoe dete (r) mined the same ; though there was noe possibility of releiveing one another, the Duch house beeing on the other side of (the) towne, almost an English mile asunder.

In order therefore to our better defence, the President, Sir George Oxinden, a most worthy, discreet, couragious person, sent advice to our ships at Swalley of our condition, with his disires to the captains to spare him out of their ships what men thay could ; and wee in the meane tyme endeavored to fitt our house soe well as wee could, sending out for what quantety of provision of victualls, watter, and powder wee could gitt, of wich wee gott a competent store. Tow brass guns we procured that day from a marchant in towne of about 300 (weight) a piece, and with old ship carriages mcuntted them and made ports in our great gate for them to play out of to scoure a shorte pasage to our house. That afternoone wee sent aboard a ship in the river for guns, and had tow of about 600 (weight) per peice sent up in next morning with shott convenient. Some are set to melt lead and make bullets, others with chezels to cutt lead into slugs ; no hand idle, but all imployed to strengthen every place, as tyme would give leave, to the best advantage.

(1) Sarai.

On Weddensday men arrive to the nomber of 40 odd and bring with them 2 brass guns more. Our 4 smaller guns are then carried up to the tope of the house and 3 of them planted to scoure 2 great streets; the 4(th) was bent upon a rich churles house [Hogee Said Beeg (Haji Zahid Beg), of whom more by and by][1], because it was equally of hight, and being posesed by the enemy might have beene dangerous to our house. Coptaines are appointed and every man quartered and order taken for reliveeing one another upon necessity. A fresh recrute of men coming of about 20 more, wee than began to consider what houses neere us might bee most prejuditiall, and on one side wee tooke possesion of (a) pagod or Banian idol temple, which was just under our house (wich haveing taken, wee were much more secured on that quarter), on the other a Moorish Meseete (*masjid, i.e.*, mosque), where severall people were harboured and had windowes into our outward yard, was thought good to bee cleared and shutt up; wich was accordingly done by a party, (and) all the people sent to seeke some other place to harbour in.

Things being thuss reasonably well prepared, newes is brought us that Mr. Anthony Smith, a servant of the Companyes, one whoe hath beene Cheife in severall factoryes, was taken prisoner by Sevagee (s) soulderiers as he came ashore neere the Duch house and was comeing to the English; an unfortunate accedent wich made us all much concerned, knowing Sevagee (s) cruelty, and indeed gave him over as quite lost. Hee obtaines leave some few houers after to send a note to the President, wherin hee aquants him with his condiltion, that hee being brought before Sevagee hee was asked what hee was and such like questions and att last by Sevagee told that hee was not come to doe any personall hurte to the English or other marchants, but only to revenge himselfe of Orom Zeb (the great Mogol) because he had invaded his counttry (and) had killd some of his relations, and that he would only have the English and Duch give him some treasure and hee would not medle with there houses; ells hee would doe them all mischeefe possible.

Mr. Smith disired him to sent a guard with him to the English house, least hee should finde any mollestation from his men, but hee answers as yet hee must not goe away, but commands him to bee carried to the rest of the marchants where when hee came hee found the embassadour from the great King of Ethiopia unto Oram Zeb prisoner and pinioned, with a great number of Banians and others in the same condition. Haveing set there some tyme, about halfe an hower, hee is seised upon by a cupple of black rogues and pinioned, in that extremety that hee hath brought away thee marks in his armes with him. This (is) what hee writt and part of what hee related when wee gott him againe.

The President by the messenger [one of Sevagee (s) men as wee imagined] returned answer that hee wounderd at him, that, professing peace, hee should detaine an English man prisoner, and that if hee would send him home, and not to suffer his people to come soe neere his house as to

(1) Haji Zahid Beg and Virji Vora were two of the leading merchants of Surat, who had frequent dealings with the Company. Both were fabulously wealthy, and the former was the Company's next-door neighbour.

give cause of suspition, hee would hurt none of his men ; otherwayes hee was upon his owne defence.

Upon these tearmes. wee were all Wednesday and untill Thursday about 2 at afternoon, when perceiveing tops of lances on the other side of a neighbour house and haveing called to the men to depart and not come soe neere us but thay not stirring and intending (as wee concluded) to sett fier to the house on the quarter, whereby our house would have been in most emenient danger of being fiered alsoe, the President commanded 20 men, under the command of Mr. Gerrurd Aungier, brother to my Lord Aungier, to sally forth upon them, and another party of about soe many more to make good their retreate. They did soe, and when thay facd them judgd them to bee about 25 horsmen well mounted. They discharged at them and wounded one man and one horse, and the rest faced about and fled, but made a shift to carry of their wounded man, but the horss fell, haveing gone a little way. What became of the wounded man wee cannot tell ; but Mr. Smith saw him brought into the armey upon mens shoulders and shewed there to Sevagee. Tow of our men were hurt, one shott slightly into the legg with an arrow ; the other rashly parting from the rest and runing on before, was cutt deep over the shoulder, but (thainks to God) in a faire way of recovery.

On Wednesday afternoone a party of the enemy came downe to Hogee Said Begs house (hee then in the castle : one of a prodigous estate) and brake open the undefended doores and ther continued all that night long and till next day that wee sallyed out upon theire men on the other quarter of our house. Thay appeared by tow or 3 at a tyme upon the tope of his house to spye what preparations wee made, but as yet (we) had noe order to fier upon them. Wee heard them all night long beating and breaking open chests and doores with great maules, but were not much concerned for him ; for had the wretch had soe much heart as to have stood upon his guard, the 20 part of what thay tooke from him would have hiered soe many men as would have secured all the rest. When thay heard that wee wear abroad in the streets they imediately in hast deserted the house and that (as is afterwards appeared) in such hast as to leave tow baggs of mony dropt downe behind them ; yet with intention, as they told the people they mett (such poore wretches as had nothing to loose and knew not whether to flye) to returne next day and fier the house ; but that was prevented.

On Friday morning the President sent unto the castle to Hogee Said Beg to know whither hee would permitt him to take possesion of and secure a great company of warehouses of his adjoyneing to our house and wich would bee of great consequence to preserve both his goods and our house. Hee testified his willingness, and immediately from the tope of our house, by help of a ladder, wee entered it and haveing found (that) the enemie, haveing beene all Wednesday afternoon and night till past Thursday noone plundering the great house, had likewise entered and begun to plunder his first warehouse but were scard, soe that little hurt was done. They had tyme to carry nothing that is as yet knowne

of, and only broken open certaine vessells of quickesilver which there lay spilt about the warehouse in great quantetye. Wee locked it up and put a guard in the roome next the street, wich through help of a belcoone secured by thicke plank tyed to the belcoone pillers, soe close on to another as noe more space was left but for a muskett to play out, was soe secured as no approoch could bee made againe to the doore of his great house or any passage to the warehouse but what must come under dainger of our shott.

In the afternoone on Friday Sevagee sends Mr. Smith as his messenger to our house with propositions and threats, haveing first made him oblige himselfe to returne, and withall obliging himselfe when hee did returne that hee would doe him noe hurt, whatsoever mesage hee should bring. His mesage was to send him 3 lacks of rupees (every lack is 100,000 and every rupee is worth 2s. 3d.), or elss let his men freely to doe their pleasure to Hogee Said Begs house ; if not, threatening to come and force us, and vowed to kill every person in the house and to dig up the houses foundation. To this it was answered by the messenger that came along with Mr. Smith that, as for his 2 propositions, he disired tyme to mak answer to them till the morrow, they being of soe great moment ; and as for Mr. Smith, that hee would and did keep him by force and hee should not returne till than, when if hee could consent to either proposition, hee would send him.

Mr. Smith being thuss returned to us, youe may bee sure each man was inquisetive to know news ; whoe told us for their number they do give themselves out to bee 10,000 and thay were now at least a very considerable armey since the comming of tow Rayors with their men, whosse names hee knew not : that their horss were very good (and soe indeed those wich wee saw were) : that when hee came away hee could not (but) guess, by the mony heaped up in tow great heapes before Sevagee his tent, than that hee had plundered 20 or 25 lack of rupees : that the day when hee came away in the morning there was brought in neere upon 300 porters, laden each with 2 baggs of rupees, and some hee guessed to be gold ; that thay brought in 28 sere of large pearle, with many other jewells, great diamonds, rubies, and emeralds (40 sere make 37 pound weight), and these, with an increedable quantety of mony, they found at the house of the reputed richest marchant in the world (his name is Verge Vora, his estate haveing beene esteemed to bee 80 lack of rupees) : that they were still, every hower while hee was there, bringing in loods of mony from his house. His disire of mony is soe great that hee spares noe barbour (ou) s cruelty to extort confessions from his prisoners ; whips them most cruely, threatens death, and often executeth it (if) thay doe not produce soe much as hee thinks they may or disires they should ; at least cutts off one hand, sometymes both.

A very great many there were who hearing of his comeing went forth to him, thinking to fare the better, but found there fault to there cost ; as one whoe came to our house for cure. Hee went forth to meete him and told him hee was come from about Agra with cloth and had brought 40 oxen loaded with it, and that hee came to present him with it all or

elss what part hee should please to command. Sevagee asked him if hee had noe mony. Hee answered that hee had not as yet sold any clothe since hee came to towne, and that hee had noe mony. The villaine made his right hand to bee cutt off imediately and than bid him begond: he had noe need of his cloth. The poore old man returns, findes his cloth burnt, and himselfe destetute of other harbor comes to the English house, where hee is dresed and fed.

But to proceed: Mr. Smith farther tells us that on Thursday their came a young fellow with some conditions from the Governour, wich pleased Sevagee not at all; soe that hee asked the fellow whether his maister, being now by him cooped up in his chamber, thought him a woman to accept such conditions. The fellow imediately returns "and wee are not women: I have somewhat more to say to youe," drawes his dagger, and runs full at Sevagee (s) breast. A fellow that stood by with a sword redy drawne striks betweene him and Sevagee and strikes his hand almost of, soe that (it) hung but by a pece of flesh. The fellow haveing made his thrust at Sevagee with all his might, did not stoop but run his bloody stumpp against Sevagee (s) breast and with (such) force, (that) both Sevagee and hee fell togather. The blood being seen upon Sevagee, the noise run through the camp that hee was killed and the crye went "kill the prisoners"; whereupon some were miserably hacked. But Sevagee haveing quitted himselfe, and hee that stood by haveing cloven the fellows scull, command was given to stay the execution and to bring the prisoners before him; wich was imediatly done, and Sevagee, according as it come in his minde, caused them to cutt of this mans head, that mans right hand, both the hands of a 3(rd). It comes to Mr. Smith(s) turne, and his right hand being comanded to be cut of, hee cryed out in Indostan to(1) Sevagee rather to cutt of his head; unto wich end his hatt was taken of, but Sevagee stopt execution, and soe (praised bee God) hee escaped. There were than about 4 heads and 24 hands cutt of.

After that Mr. Smith was come away and retayned by the President and they heard the answer, hee sends the embassador of Ethiopia, whome hee had sett free upon dillivery of 12 horses and some other things sent by his king to Oron Zeb, to tell the English that hee did intend to vissitt us and to raise the house and kill every man of us. The President resolutely answers that wee were redy for him and resolved not to stire: let him come when hee pleased, and since hee had (as hee saide) resolved to come, hee bid him come one pore (pahar) (that is about the tyme of a watch) sooner then hee intended. With this answer the ambassadour went his way, and wee heard no farther from him any more but in the terrible noise of the fier and the hideous smoke wich wee saw, but by Gods mercy came not soe neere us as to take hold of us (ever blessed be His name).

Thursday and Friday nights were the most tirrible nights for fier. On Friday, after hee had ransaked and dug up Verge Voras house hee fiered it and a great vast number more towards the Dutch house; a fier soe great as turned the night into day, as before the smoke in the day

(1) Hindustani.

tyme had almost turned day into night, rissing soe thicke as it darkned the sun like a great cloud. On Sunday morning about 10 a clocke (as they tell us) hee went his way, and that night lay 6 courss of and next day at noone was passed over Brooch river. . .

There is a creedable information that hee hath shipt his treasure to carry into his owne country, and Sir George Oxenden hath sent a fregate to see if hee can light of them; wich God grant. Wee kept our wach still till Tuesday.

I had forgote to writt you the manner of their cutting of mens hands, wich was thuss. The person to suffer is pinioned as strreight as possibly thay can, and then, when the nod is given, a soldier come(s) with a whitle or blunt knife and throws the poore patient downe upon his face; than draws his hand backward and setts his knee upon the prisoners backe and begins to hack and cutt on on side and other about the wrest. In the meane tyme the poore man roared exceedingly kicking and bitting the ground for very anguish. When the villiane perceves the bone to bee laid bare on all sides, hee setteth the wrest to his knee and gives it a snap, and proceeds till he hath hacked the hand quite of; which done, thay force him to rise and make him run soe long till through paine and loss of blood hee falls downe. They then unpinion him and the blood stops."

V.—THE SECOND SACK OF SURAT

OCTOBER 3RD, 1670

(*From a Contemporary letter.*)

[After the first sack of Surat, the Mogul Government had a wall built round the town. In spite of all precautions, however, the Marathas once more swept down and ransacked the town, the Governor, as before, retiring to the fort and leaving the wretched inhabitants to their fate. In the English Factory, Streynsham Master (afterwards Governor of Madras) with the help of 50 English sailors, put up a stout fight. Afterwards they came to terms with Sivaji, who received their flag of truce very kindly, and " putting his hand into their hands, he told them he would do the English no wrong." The following account, probably by Streynsham Master himself, was despatched by the Council to the Company. It is reprinted in Yule's *Hedge's Diary*, from the Surat Factory Records, Vol. III, Consultations at Swally Marine, October 1670.]

"Wee had gott them(1) ready to sayle the first or second October when wee were surprised with continued hott alarums of Sevagy's neare approaches to Surat with an army of 15,000 horse and ffoote, against whom there were not 300 men ready to defend the towne. Your councell were all at Swally Marine when the newes came ; where lay not only the stresse of our bussiness but the greatest part of your goods bought for Europe. For by an happy Providence, as wee may well call it, forseeing the ensuing danger, that the towne of Surratt would certainly become a Prey either to the Princes Army (who is rebelled against the Mogull) or to Sevagy, wee took a convenient time to empty all your warehouses at Surratt of what goodes were ready embaled, and sent them down to Swally. Soe that in your house were onely left some Tapseiles(2) and cotton Yarne, not embaled. Onely at the washers and beaters, in the severall out villages there remained about 2000 corge(3) of several goodes to wit Nundraband and Surat Baftas(4) and Porcas delivered out to bee whited. However notwithstanding you were then in a great measure recured wee thought it necessary to provide for the remayning goods in Surat as also to maintaine your honour and that of the Nation (which wee had hitherto reputably preserved) from any scandall that might be cast upon us of deserting the towne and your house in time of danger when the Dutch and Ffrench kept theirs. Wherefore your servant Gerald Aungier resolved the same day the newes arrived to goe up to Surratt with a guard of men taken out of the shipps, intending to leave Mr. Mathew Gray with the rest of your Councell at the marine to take care of your Interest there ; but as he was preparing to take horse, the rest of your Councell thought goode to declare them judgement against his going, advising that it would not consist with the safety of your affaires to hazard the person of your President at such a time, when

(1) The annual fleet or " Voyage."

(2) *Tapsila*, a silk stuff from Mecca.

(3) Score.

(4) Woven goods, calico.

all the merchants of the town and the officers themselves had diserted it. That it was impossible though wee tooke all the men out of the shipps, to defend an open house against such an army; that if your President were in the house, the enemy might probably assault it on purpose to seize his person, in hopes of his ransome. Whereas if it were not there it might be taken less notice of. That the greatest part of your estate lay at Swally whither 'twas not improbable but the enemy might send some partye either to seize or burne your goodes, in case they had not their demands, against whom it was necessary to make the best provision wee could. These with other arguments they presst soe earnestly that Govr. Aungier thought it would not become him to oppose the body of the Councell. Wherefore desisting from his journey after debate we resolved to send up 30 seamen taken out of your shipps with Mr. Streinsham Master who chearfully undertook the charge, and our advice to him was that he should keep his men close to your house and not discharge a gunn or ffight with the enemy unless they were first assaulted. So the 2nd October at night Mr. Master with parte of the menn marched up to Surratt, the rest wee sent up on the hoigh([1]), which was to lye there to secure their retreat in case they were forced to leave the house. It will be some divertisement to you to read what passed at Surratt and Swally, which was thus,

The 3rd October Sevagy's army approached the walls and after a slight assault the defendants fled under shelter of the castle gunns, and they possest themselves of the whole towne, some few houses excepted which stood on their defence, to witt the English house the Dutch and Ffrench, and the two Serays or Seraglias, one whereof was maintayned by Persian and Turkish Merchants, the other by a Tartar king called the king of Cascar([2]) (who being of kin to the Mogull, and beaten out of his countrey by his owne sonne, desired leave last year to go on Pillgrimage to Mecha from whence he returned two months since.) Part of the army the same day assaulted the Tartar's quarter and the English house; but the Ffrench made a private peace for themselves, on what tearmes we cannot learne; and so never shott off a gunn, though at first being strong in menn they vapoured as if they would have fought the whole army themselfes. The enemy found such hott service from our house, having lost severall men, that they left us and fell on the Tartar quarter fiercely, which lay between the Ffrench house and ours. At first they made a stout resistance, but the Ffrench suffering the enemy to possess some avenues next their house, and as tis affirmed furnishing them with powder and shott, the Tartars could keep their house no longer, but in the night having conveighed away their king to the castle left their house a prey to Sevagy, where he found a vast treasure in gould, silver, rich plate, a gould bed and other rich furniture. The new Seray also defended by the Turks, they assaulted, but were beaten off with losse. But the Dutch house lying out of the way, was never attempted by them. The enemy having taken the Tartar Seray, could from thence more safely fly their shott at our house, for which they prepared themselfs;

([1]) Hoy, a sloop or small ship. ([2]) Abdullah Khan, *ex*-King of Kashghar.

but finding our men resolute on their defence they held up their hands desiring a parley, wee doubted not by Gods assistance to preserve your goodes from plunder. But wee feared ffire more than the enemy, against which wee kept a constant watch. . . . . . ." (1)

. . . . . ." The Captain of the brigade calling to speake with Mr. Master from the wall he appeared to them. Many expostulations passed touching our good correspondence at Bombay and our coming at Surratt. The Captain tould Mr. Master the Raja, or Sevagy, was much enrajed that wee had killed so many of his menn, and was resolved on revenge. Mr. Master answered they assaulted and wounded severall of our menn before they shott a gunn, and that if his menn did not assault the English, they would not offend him. But if they offerred violence they were resolved to defend the house to the last mann and would sell their lives deare. The Captain answered that he would keep his menn in, and desired allso that he would send some understanding person to discourse with him. This being agreed on both sides, our house was quiett in two dayes. In the interim the army ransacked the great houses at leasure, and found therein vast treasure, and with goodes, sette fire to sevrall places, destroying neare halfe the town to the ground. They approached the Castle threatening to storme it, but they were not, it seems prepared for it, for they did not venture near. The third day they appeared againe before our house, notwithstanding our overtures of treaties before, casting out threatening speeches that they would take or burne it to the ground. But Mr. Master stood in soe resolute a posture that the Captain not willing to hazard his menn, with much adoo kept them back and sent a mann into the house to advise Mr. Master what was fitt to be done. This person told him the Rajah was much offended for the loss of his menn and therefore advised he would send some person to him, but he must not goe empty handed, but with a present, though to no great vallue. Mr. Master thought it not imprudent to secure your goodes together with so many menn's lives at soe reasonable a rate, and therefore by advice of those with him resolved to prepare and send a present to Sevagy to the amount of rups. (   ) in scarlett, sword blades, knives &ca., which while he was getting ready, the person that was sent to him being a merchant of Rajapore fell into discourse with him touching our leaving the ffactory, asking the reason why wee did not send our people to trade there as formerly. Mr. Master answered that it was Sevagy's ffault and not ours, for he had plundered the Company's house, imprisoned their servants, and whereas since that time he had given satisfaction to severall persons whom he had robbed yet he had not taken care to satisfy the English the losse they had sustayned, to which he answered that Sevagy did much desire our

(1) For his gallantry, Streynsham Master was presented by the company with a gold medal of the value of £20, weighing 3½ ounces. It bore on one side the company's arms with the inscription, *Pro meritis contra Sevageum apud Suratt 1670*, and on the other the family arms and motto, *Non minor est virtus Quam quaerere parta tueri*, and about it, *virtutis comes invidia*. The medal is now lost, though the silver and ivory case survives.

return to Rajapore and would doe very much to give us satisfaction. Mr. Master told him that in regard the President was at Swally he would say but little, but he would acquaint him therewith and there was no doubt he would trade againe in his port, if Şevagy would restore what he had taken from us; and secure us from such violence in the future. This gratefull discourse bein over, the present was sent by two of your servants who were conveighed to Sevagys tent without the towne. He sent for them and received them with the piscash(1), in a very kind manner, telling them that the English and he were very good ffriends, and putting his hand into their hands he told them that he would doe the English no wrong, and giving his hand was better than any Cowle(2) to oblige him thereunto. Before your servants were returned to your house, Sevagy had called his army out of the towne, to the wonder of all menn......"

(1) Present. (2) Arabic *kaul*, safeguard, amnesty.

VI.—THREE CONTEMPORARY FRENCH NARRATIVES OF SHIVAJI

(1) Jean de Thévenot (1633-1667)

[JEAN DE THÉVENOT was born and educated at Paris. His uncle Melchisedech was the author of a well-known collection of *Voyages*, and this may have inspired the nephew with a desire to explore the East. He set out in 1652, at the age of 29, and visited England, Holland, Germany and Italy. In 1655 he reached Constantinople, whence he explored the Levant and Egypt. He went on the Lenten pilgrimage to Jerusalem, visited Palestine, and returned home in 1659, after some exciting adventures with pirates. In 1663 he once more sailed for the East, and this time devoted his attention to Iraq and Persia. Landing at Sidon, he travelled through Damascus, Aleppo, Mosul and Bagdad. Near Kirmanshah, he met the celebrated Tavernier. In November 1665 he took ship from Basra to Surat in the *Hopewell*, reaching Surat in January, 1666. After a journey from Surat to Masulipatam *via* Golconda, he set out for home, but died from the effects of an accident with a pistol, near Tabriz, November 28th, 1667. An excellent orientalist and naturalist, Thévenot has left a lively account of what he saw and heard on his travels. Students of Indian history know all too little his *Voyages aux Indes Orientales*, a very rare book, the best-known edition being the handy little third edition printed at Amsterdam in five volumes, 12mo. 1727. It has only once been rendered into English,—a very bad translation by Lovell, London, 1687, now almost unprocurable, and in any case, a sad example of bookseller's hackwork. It is a pity that, while the travels of Bernier, Tavernier, Chardin, Manucci and other foreigners have been duly rendered into English, Thévenot remains practically untranslated and almost unread. It is for this reason that I reprint his account of the city of Surat, as he saw it the year after the first visitation of the Marathas. The narrative is full of interest, particularly as a commentary on Ovington and Fryer, both of whom evidently made use of it. Thévenot gives us a vivid pen picture of Shivaji,—" a little, swarthy man, with sharp, fiery eyes." Equally fascinating are his accounts of Father Ambrose, the famous Capuchin monk, whose influence over the Moghuls was almost magnetic, and whose saintliness caused Shivaji to spare his monastery during the pillage. Thévenot's account of Shivaji, and especially of the first sack of Surat, is of great importance as a contemporary document.]

THE FIRST RAID ON SURAT.

In January 1664 Rajah Sivaji disconcerted these Customs officials and their Governor (1) in a strange manner ; and as he has become illustrious

(1) *i.e.* of Surat.

through his actions, it will not be out of place to relate his history. Sivaji was the son of a captain of the king of Bijapur, and was born at Bassein[1]. As he was of a restless and turbulent spirit, he began to rebel during his father's days, and having placed himself at the head of a number of bandits and of a host of dissolute youths, he held out in the mountains of Bijapur against such as came to attack him there, and he refused to listen to reason. The king, believing that Sivaji's father was in league with him, had him arrested ; and as he died in prison, Sivaji conceived so fierce a hatred against this king, that he did all in his power to obtain his revenge. He laid waste a part of Bijapur within a very short time, and with what he pilfered, he fortified himself so well with men, arms and horses, that his position was strong enough to enable him to seize some towns and to form a small state in spite of the king, who died at this time. The queen, who was now regent, having her hands full with other matters, tried her utmost to recall Sivaji to his duty ; but being unsuccessful, she accepted the peace which he proposed to her, and after that she remained in peace.

However, as the Rajah could not keep quiet, he laid waste some places belonging to the Great Mogul ; this compelled the emperor to send troops against him under Shasta Khan, his uncle, Governor of Aurangabad. Shasta Khan had far larger forces than Sivaji, and pursued him vigorously, but the Rajah always took refuge in the mountains, and as he was extremely clever, the Mogul was unable to catch him.

Finally, however, the old captain, thinking that Sivaji's turbulent spirit would result in some mischief to his disadvantage, decided to temporise, and stayed for a long time in the Rajah's territory. As Sivaji was greatly annoyed by Shasta Khan's patience, he resorted to stratagem. He ordered one of his captains to write to this Mogul, and to persuade him that he was desirous of entering the service of the Great Mogul and bringing with him five hundred men in his command. When Shasta Khan received these letters, he did not at first dare to trust them ; but when he continued to receive them, and the captain could not adduce any causes of discontent which appeared to have any semblance of truth, he told him to come and bring his men with him. No sooner was he in the camp of the Moguls, than he demanded a passport to go and see the king, and join his service ; but Shasta Khan contented himself with letting him entertain hopes, and he kept his eye upon him.

Sivaji had ordered him to do his utmost to insinuate himself in the mind of Shasta Khan, and to spare nothing with this intent. He had told him even to go to the length of showing all possible animosity on suitable occasions, and above all to be the first in any attacks which might be made against himself and his subjects. The captain did not fail to obey him. He put to fire and sword all that he came across in the Rajah's territory, and did much more damage there than anyone else : this won for him the complete confidence of Shasta Khan, who in the end appointed

(1) This is an extraordinary slip. Shivaji was born in Shivner fort, which overhangs the town of Junnar in the extreme north of the Poona District. The exact date is still a matter of controversy.

him Captain of his guards. He guarded him badly, however, for having one day informed Sivaji that on a certain night he would be on guard near the General's tent, the Rajah came there with his men ; and being introduced by his Captain, he approached Shasta Khan, who, having awakened, seized his weapons, and was wounded in the hand. Nevertheless he found a means of saving himself, but one of his sons was killed, and as Sivaji thought he had killed the man himself, he gave the signal for retreat. He withdrew with his Captain and all his cavalry in good order. He took away this General's treasure, and he also carried off his daughter, to whom he paid all possible honour. He forbade his men, under a severe penalty, to do her any harm, on the contrary he had her treated most respectfully ; and when he learned that her father was still alive, he sent word to him that, if he sent him as her ransom a certain sum which he indicated, he would return his daughter safe and sound ; and this was promptly done.

After that, he wrote to Shasta Khan to ask him to withdraw, and did not conceal from him that he himself was the originator of the stratagem which had been carried out ; he added that he was planning several others with intent to ruin him, and that most certainly, if he did not withdraw from Sivaji's lands, he would have to pay for it with his life. Shasta Khan did not neglect this advice. He informed the king that it was impossible to force Sivaji in the mountains ; and that he could not undertake to do so unless he allowed his troops to perish : and he received an order from the Court to withdraw on the pretext of some new enterprise. Nevertheless Sivaji was determined to avenge himself on the Mogul by some means or other, provided that it might prove useful to himself ; and as he was not ignorant of the fact that the city of Surat was full of wealth, he took measures to pillage it : so that no one might suspect his designs, he divided his troops into two camps ; and as his State was mainly on the road between Bassein and Shaoul,[1] in the mountains, he formed one camp near Shaoul,[1] where he set one of his flags, and at the same time posted another camp near Bassein ; and after having instructed his Commanders not to do any pillaging, but, on the contrary, to pay for anything they took, he secretly disguised himself as a fakir. He went to find out the easiest roads to get to Surat speedily ; he entered the city to make investigations regarding the locality ; and in this way he had all the leisure he wanted for reconnoitring.

Having returned to his main camp, he commanded four thousand of his men to follow him silently, and the others to remain in encampment and to make as much noise in his absence as though the whole of the troops were there, so that no one should suspect anything of the enterprise in hand, and so that it should be believed that he was still in one of his two camps. All was done as he had commanded. The march was sufficiently secret, though he precipitated it to surprise Surat ; and he encamped near the Brampur gate. To amuse the Governor, who sent to meet him, Sivaji asked for guides, on the pretext that he wished to pass beyond the place ; but without giving him any reply, the Governor withdrew into

(1) Cheul or Chaul, 20 miles south of Bombay *see* 172, note 2, and p. 229.

the fortress with all his most precious possessions, and sent out in every direction for succour. The majority of the inhabitants, surprised, deserted their houses, and fled into the country. Sivaji's men entered the city, pillaged it for four days, and burned several houses. It was only the quarters inhabited by the English and the Dutch that were able to escape from these marauders, by reason of the vigorous resistance which they offered, and by means of the cannon which they levelled, the effects of which Sivaji did not want to try, as he had no cannon himself.

Neither did this Rajah desire to risk attacking the castle, though he was well aware that they had stored all the most valuable things there, in particular a large amount of ready cash. He feared that this attack would cost him too much time, and that the reinforcements which might come, would compel him to abandon the booty he had secured in the city: besides, as the castle had a means of defending itself, his victory there would not have been so profitable as in the case of the remaining part. He therefore decided to retire with all the riches he had amassed. It is believed in Surat that this Rajah carried off more than thirty millions in jewels, gold or silver; in one Bania's house alone he found twenty-two pounds of strung pearls, as well as a large quantity of others which were not yet pierced.

By the way, it would be astonishing that so populous a city should so patiently have allowed a handful of men to pillage it, if one did not know that, for the most part, the Indians are cowardly. No sooner did they see Sivaji with his band, than they all fled, some to the country to retire to Baroche, and the others to the castle, where the Governor of the City was among the first to take refuge. Indeed, the European Christians, who had stayed firm in their quarters, were the only people who saved themselves. All the rest of the city was pillaged, except the Capuchin monastery. When the pillagers were opposite their convent, they passed by; and they had received orders from their chief to act in this way, because, on the evening of the first day, Father Ambrose, the Superior of the Capuchins, moved to compassion for the poor Christians resident in Surat, had approached this Rajah, and had spoken to him in their favour asking him at least to do no injury to their persons. Sivaji respected him; he took him under his protection, and granted him his request for the Christians.

The Great Mogul was much affected by the pillage of this city, and the boldness of Sivaji; but as his affairs did not permit of his pursuing him then and there, he dissimulated the grief that this attack caused him, and postponed his revenge.

In 1666 Aurangzeb urgently desired to be rid of him, and to gain his ends, he pretended to approve of what Sivaji had done, and praised his action as that of a gallant man, putting the blame on the Governor of Surat, who had not had the courage to oppose him. He thus explained himself before the other rajahs of the Court, among whom he well knew that Sivaji had many friends; and he gave them to understand that, as he esteemed the valour of this Rajah, he wished him to come to the Court,

and he said plainly that he would be glad if someone would make this known to Sivaji. He even asked one of them to write to him, and he gave his royal word that no harm would be done to him, that he could come to the Court in all security, that he, the emperor, would forget the past, and that his troops would be so well treated that he would have no cause for complaint. Several rajahs wrote what the king had said, and went in person as surety for his word: and thus he had no objection to coming to the Court with his son, after having commanded his troops to be always on their guard, under a skilful captain whom he left at the head of them.

At first he received all manner of caresses at the Court, but some months afterwards, perceiving the coldness in the king's manner towards him, he complained openly of it, and told him without hesitation that he believed the king desired his (Sivaji's) death, though he had come to the Court on the strength of the king's royal parole, without having been under any constraint or necessity to do so; but that His Majesty could learn from Shasta Khan and from the Governor of Surat what manner of man he was, and that, if he was to perish, there would be those who would avenge his death; but in the meantime, before they could kill him, he wished to die by his own hand; and, drawing his dagger, he attempted suicide; but he was prevented, and watch was kept over him.

The king would have gladly killed him, but he feared that the rajahs would rise against him. They were already murmuring at the treatment which was being meted out to Sivaji in spite of the assurance which had been given him; and they all took all the more interest in him, as most of them were only at Court on the strength of the king's parole. This consideration compelled Aurangzeb to treat him well, and to make much of his son. He told him that he had never had thoughts of putting him to death, and he flattered him by promising him a good commission if he would go to Kandahar, which place he then intended to besiege. Sivaji feigned consent to this, provided that he might command his own troops. The king having granted him this request, he asked for a passport to have them fetched; and when he had obtained it, he decided to utilise it to withdraw from the Court. For this reason he gave orders to those to whom he entrusted the passport, and whom he sent on in advance on the pretext of bringing his troops, to bring him horses to certain places which he indicated to them; this they did not fail to do. When he considered the time ripe for going to join them, he had himself and his son carried to the river bank at night in baskets. As soon as they had passed over, they mounted horses which were ready waiting for them, and at the same time he told the ferryman he might inform the king that he had taken Rajah Sivaji across. They galloped night and day; they found fresh horses at the appointed places according to the instructions which Sivaji had given; and they passed everything on the strength of the king's passport: but as the son was unable to stand the strain of this long ride, he died on the way. The Rajah left money for his corpse to be burned with all due honour, and immediately went to his State in good health.

Aurangzeb was extremely angry about this flight. Several people thought that it was only a false rumour which was being circulated, and that Sivji had been put to death; but the truth was soon known. This rajah was short and swarthy, with fiery eyes showing great intelligence. He generally ate only one meal daily, and enjoyed good health; and when he pillaged Surat in 1664, he was only thirty-five years of age. [1]

Father Ambrose

Father Ambrose, about whom I have spoken, has acquired great credit in the country of the Mogul by reason of his virtue and his services, and he is esteemed equally by Christians and Hindus: moreover he is full of charity towards all. It is he who generally settles the disputes which arise among the Christians, and especially among the Catholics; and he has such a measure of authority from the Mogul officials, that if one of the parties is so obstinate as not to wish to accommodate himself, Father Ambrose compels him on his own authority to agree to what is right. He does not hesitate to have a Christian imprisoned if his behaviour is scandalous, and if the Governor or the Cotoual receive complaints about it, or petitions for the release of the prisoner, they both send the complainant to the Father, saying that this is a matter over which they have no control. If the suppliant finds favour with them, they simply offer their intercession to the Capuchin, and one day I saw a man whom he had released from prison at the request of the Cotoual, and this official was reprimanding him severely for having caused Father Ambrose's indignation. He banishes from the city persons of too irregular living, and the Cotoual himself sends him peons to conduct them out of the town, with instructions to his people to conduct them wherever the Capuchin may advise.

He frequently uses his favour for Hindus also; and I have seen a heathen, who was being taken to prison for some minor offence, released at his request. He boldly disputes about the Faith in the presence of the Governor; and one day he brought back to her duty a Christian woman debauched by a secretary to the queen, who, in order to lead a licentious life, had deserted her religion and embraced Mahommedanism, and he himself went one morning to take her away from this heathen. His life has indeed ever been blameless, which is no ordinary praise for a man who lives in a country where there are so many nations living in great disorder, and which his duties compel him to frequent.

(2) François Bernier (1620-1688)

[François Bernier, the celebrated physician and traveller, arrived at Surat in the cold weather of 1658-59. Setting out for Agra, he encountered on his journey the ill-starred prince Dara Shukoh, and accompanied him on part of his wanderings. But when Dara fled to Sind, Bernier broke away from him and subsequently arrived at Delhi. Here he attached himself to the Court of Aurangzeb, whom he accompanied to Kashmir.

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(1) *i.e.*, he was born in January 1629 according to Thévenot. This is interesting in view of the controversy about Shivaji's birth date.

Like Thévenot, Bernier met the famous Tavernier in the course of his travels, and accompanied him to Bengal. Bernier embarked at Surat for his native land in 1667, reaching home two years later. He published his *Travels* in 1670, and died in 1688.]

A revolt had taken place, headed by a Gentile(1) of Visapour,(2) who made himself master of several important fortresses and one or two seaports belonging to the King of that country. The name of this bold adventurer is Seva-Gi, or Lord Seva. He is vigilant, enterprising, and wholly regardless of personal safety. Chah-hestkan, (3) when in the Deccan, found in him an enemy more formidable than the King of Visapour at the head of his whole army and joined by those Rajas who usually unite with that prince for their common defence. Some idea may be formed of Seva-Gi's intrepidity by his attempt to seize Chah-hestkan's person, together with all his treasures, in the midst of his troops, and surrounded by the walls of Aureng-Abad. Attended by a few soldiers he one night penetrated into Chah-hestkan's apartment, and would have succeeded in his object had he remained undetected a short time longer. Chah-hest was severely wounded, and his son was killed in the act of drawing his sword. Seva-Gi soon engaged in another daring expedition, which proved more successful. Placing himself at the head of two or three thousand men, the power of his army, he silently withdrew from his camp, and pretended during the march to be a Raja going to the Mogol's court. When within a short distance of Sourate, he met the Grand Provost of the country, on whom he imposed the belief that he intended to prosecute his journey without entering the town: but the plunder of that famous and wealthy port was the principal object of the expedition; he rushed into the place sword in hand, and remained nearly three days, tourturing the population to compel a discovery of their concealed riches. Burning what he could not take away, Seva-Gi returned without the least opposition, laden with gold and silver to the amount of several millions; with pearls, silken stuffs, fine cloths, and a variety of other costly merchandise. A secret understanding, it was suspected, existed between Jessomseingue (4) and Seva-Gi, and the former was supposed to have been accessory to the attempt on Chah-hest as well as the attack of Sourate. The Raja was therefore recalled from the Deccan, but instead of going to Delhi, he returned to his own territories.

I forgot to mention that during the pillage of Sourate, Seva-Gi, the Holy Seva-Gi! respected the habitation of the Reverend Father Ambrose, the Capuchin missionary. 'The Frankish Padrys are good men,' he said 'and shall not be molested.' He spared also the house of a deceased Delale or Gentile broker, of the Dutch, because assured that he had been very charitable while alive. The dwellings of the English and Dutch likewise escaped his visits, not in consequence of any reverential feeling on his part, but because those people had displayed a great deal of resolution, and defended themselves well. The English especially, assisted by the

(1) *i.e.*, Hindu. (2) Bijapur. (3) Shaista Khan.

(4) Jai Singh, Aurangzeb's famous Rajput general.

crews of their vessels, performed wonders, and saved not only their own houses but those of their neighbours. The pertinacity of a Jew, a native of Constantinople, astonished everybody. Seva-Gi knew that he was in possession of most valuable rubies, which he intended to sell to Aureng-Zebe; but he persevered in stoutly denying the fact, although three times placed on his knees to receive the stroke of a sword flourished over his head. This conduct was worthy of a Jew whose love of money generously exceeds his love of life.

Aureng-Zebe prevailed with Jesseingue to take the command of the army in the Deccan, attended by Sultan Mazum, who, however, was not invested with any authority. The Raja's first operation was vigorously to attack Seva-Gi's principal fortress; but he had recourse, at the same time, to his favourite art, negotiation which he brought to a favourable issue, as the place surrendered by capitulation long before it was reduced to extremity. Seva-Gi having consented to make common cause with the Mogol against Visapour, Aureng-Zebe proclaimed him a Raja, took him under his protection and granted an Omrah's pension to his son. Some time afterwards, the King meditating a war against Persia, wrote to Seva-Gi in such kind and flattering terms, and extolled his generosity; talents and conduct so highly, as to induce him to meet the Mogol at Delhi, Jesseingue having plighted his faith for the chieftain's security. Chah-hestkan's wife, a relation of Aureng-Zebe's, happened to be then at court, and never ceased to urge the arrest of a man who had killed her son, wounded her husband, and sacked Sourate. The result was that Seva-Gi, observing that his tents were watched by three or four Omrahs, effected his escape in disguise under favour of night. This circumstance caused great uneasiness in the palace, and Jesseingue's eldest son, being strongly suspected of having assisted Seva-Gi in his flight, was forbidden to appear at court. Aureng-Zebe felt, or seemed to feel, equally irritated against the father and the son, and Jesseingue, apprehending that he might avail himself of the pretext to seize his territories, abandoned his command in the Deccan and hastened to the defence of his dominions, but he died on his arrival at Brampour. The kindness shown by the Mogol to the Raja's son, when apprised of this melancholy event; his tender condolences, and the grant to him of the pension enjoyed by the father, confirm many persons in the opinion that Seva-Gi did not escape without the connivance of Aureng-Zebe himself. His presence at court must indeed have greatly embarassed the King, since the hatred of the women was most fierce and rancorous against him: they considered him as a monster who had imbued his hands in the blood of friends and kinsmen.

(3) Barthélemy Carré c. 1668

[Barthélemy Carré had accompanied Carron, a Dutchman, who had left the service of his own country to be appointed Director-General of the French Company by Colbert, and arrived at Surat in 1668. He went home in 1671 and returned to India again in 1672. In 1699 was published his *Voyage des Indes Orientales mélé de plusieurs histoires curieuses,*

at Paris in two small volumes, which contained among other things an interesting biography of Shivaji whom Carré ardently admired. In the first volume was recorded what Carré had learnt about the great prince during his first voyage and his mistake about the date of the second sack of Surat was probably due to his absence from India when it occurred. He carried the narrative in his second volume supplementing the History of Seva-gy with what he learnt about him subsequently. The new chapter is therefore entitled " Suite de l'histoire de Seva-gy" or sequel to the history of Seva-gy. It is needless to say that Carré's work is of unequal value. His account of the two sacks of Surat, the Maratha raid into Bardes and Shivaji's conciliatory policy towards the European merchant nations, is fairly correct, but there is much in his history and its sequel that is no better than ordinary bazar gossip. About the early career of Shivaji he was hopelessly ignorant. Probably he had learnt during his sojourn in the country that Shivaji was originally a subject of the King of Bijapur, but he did not know that Shivaji had already asserted his independence long before he surprised Shaista Khan in his seraglio.]

In 1669[1] Surate was for the second time plundered by the army of Seva-gy, one of the greatest men the East has ever seen. In his courage, the rapidity of his conquests and his great qualities he does not ill resemble that great king of Sweden, Gustavus Adolphus. The history of this Seva-gy pertains in a way to that of Surate, and from what I have learnt during my voyages, nothing will be more appropriate for recital to our people, who are born for war and more accustomed to fight than to trade.

After becoming the king of great Mogol and having placed on his head a crown that did not belong to him, Aurengzeb thought only of establishing his authority and of getting rid of all those he feared. He began exactly as do almost all the kings of the East. He shut his father in a castle for the rest of his days and took the lives of his two brothers, who to avenge the injustice he had done them, and pretending to release their father, must have put him to no small embarrassment.

He then turned his thoughts to war, not so much to extend the boundaries of his empire as to keep his subjects occupied at the commencement of his tyranny and make them submit to it by impoverishing them. There was also a *raison d'état* sufficiently important though very unjust and it appeared to him to be still stronger for his purpose in taking up arms.

The kingdoms of Golkonda, Visapour and Decan had entered into a league with a reciprocal promise of joining forces against their enemies as was done in Europe in ancient times, by the three great cities of Peloponnesus, Argos, Messene and Sparta. They maintained one another with all their power and this triple alliance had rendered them almost invincible. Aurengzeb, who had formed a design of conquering these kingdoms, the grandeur of which was offending his pride and causing him some anxiety, made a grand levy of men and money throughout his state and sent a powerful army to the Decan under the command of his uncle

(1) 1670 is the correct date.

Cakestkam. The Decan, more exposed than the other (two) kingdoms, was seldom without armies and was continually attacked by the Mogol and defended by its neighbours. This was between these crowns a source of perpetual war, as we today find the Netherlands to be between the kings of France and Spain.

Cakestkam took the field, and at the rumour of his approach the kings of Visapour and Golkonda took up arms. But the king of Visapour whether from weakness or cowardice seemed inclined to make up with the Mogol and forthwith become a tributary. He made this strange resolution without remembering that this would break up the league and ruin him personally. Seva-gy, the Prime Minister of the Prince, a personage dominating his master, was as usual present in the council when the king placed his plan before it, and if he had not spoken as was his duty to do, the proposal would have been unanimously accepted. He fully perceived that flattery and a desire to please the king would quite suffice to approve so pernicious a resolution, at the same time he could easily see that the jealousy he inspired would turn the opinion of the assembly in favour of the king and not of him and that if the king was obliged, nobody cared if all were lost. He urged all the reasons that the interest of the state, the glory of the Prince, the fidelity due to the allies, could suggest to him in support of his opinion; the emulation of his rivals rendered him more eloquent than he usually was. He spoke with great ability about the forces of the kingdom, the advantages of its situation, and the resources necessary for war. He expressed his opinion that the Mogol was not so strong as to be feared, and that whatever the sentiments followed by others, contrary to his desire, his own was to defend themselves. He did not know how to pay court at the cost of the glory of his master. "As to the rest," said he, "I propose nothing that I am not prepared to execute at the risk of my life, and I make bold to assert that with very few troops I shall arrest the progress of Cakestkam or chase him out of the kingdom."

All proved useless; numbers prevailed over good sense and timidity over valour. It was resolved not to postpone the despatch of an envoy to the Mogol, but in the meanwhile preparations were to proceed under the guidance of ordinary commanders and under the orders of the king. The generals had realised that in a decisive engagement Seva-gy would be charged with the sole care of military affairs and while he would earn honour they would remain in oblivion and obscurity. This was what made them controvert his opinion with all ardour. They introduced into their discussion touches which applied to him personally and which to the king had this meaning that Seva-gy aspired to greater things under the pretext of repelling the Mogol. In short, they preferred to expose their country to the disgrace of slavery to having it liberated even by the hands of another.

Seva-gy left the council shocked at their disregard of reason but he was still more offended at the defiance meted out to him personally. Henceforth he thought only of vengeance and of establishing himself over

those who believed themselves to be over him. He had nothing else in view but revenge, and did not even reflect upon the crime he was going to commit. He employed his skill and discrimination to discover among the people whom fortune had attached to his person men who would enlist in his cause, men who loved .prospects or friendship more than duty, and if alliance be called friendship, alliance which is not formed from virtue.

Seva-gy having made his choice and having enlisted a sufficiently large number of nobles in his intrigue held aloof from the court on the plea of ill-health and retired to his own lands there to devise some means of breaking forth with success.

The departure of the minister displeased neither the king nor his favourites ; they had been equally smarting under the superiority of his genius. They felt relieved and paid no attention to what might follow. Seva-gy having assembled his partisans, seized a very strong citadel on the frontier of the kingdom near Decan and gave orders to march the troops that side. All the provinces were in commotion, and as grand levies were made the roads became full of soldiers rushing to join their regiments. This helped effectively to conceal his designs of revolt, as the troops of Seva-gy could not be distinguished from those of the king.

This lord who was immensely wealthy, possessed among other qualities a liberality verging on extravagance. He caused large sums of money to be distributed through his officers among the soldiers to secure better unity among them and to attach them all to his person. They swore, every one of them, to follow him wherever he would lead them. Loaded with wealth and full of hope about the future these men had no difficulty in taking this oath. They promised more than what had been asked and added that they would serve him against their own king, a vain pledge that could bind only those who had no idea of law or government. He knew how to profit by the effect of presents and the good disposition of his army, and he decided to utilise it for an enterprise that would have seemed foolhardy if it had not been justified by success. This was to attack in his own camp the commander of the Mogol troops who was entrenched very near Aurengabad, the capital of Decan where he was waging war. Seva-gy found a special pretext in the alliance formed between his master and the king of Decan. The desire of diverting the storm to help an allied prince revealed the courage and justice of his enterprise. Indeed he needed only the order of the king of Visapour but on the other hand he himself felt pleased in carrying out the advice he had given and he drew upon the territories of Visapour all the forces of the Mogol who would not fail to wreak their vengeance. This prince had no reason to suspect that Seva-gy was not fighting under the orders of the king, his master, and he could not as yet find out the truth as he afterwards did. Before setting out Seva-gy left in his fortress a garrison of old veteran soldiers and officers under a commander whose courage and fidelity he knew, thus securing a key to the kingdom of Visapour and a place of security where he could

retire when necessary. He then drew towards Aurengabad with only six thousand lightly armed men and the best troops he had.

The Mogol general was very far from his army, in an ill-fortified camp and near a seraglio where he spent his time in love and pleasure. The city blockaded and within sight of the huge army, he considered himself immune from attack. In the roads of the camp were seen only the eunuchs and slaves, the ministers of the general's pleasure. His treasures were not better guarded than his person. He had huge sums of gold and silver with which he provided the two things that demanded it most, war and debauchery. Seva-gy assembled his principal officers and when they had discovered the importance of his enterprise he apprised them of its feasibility and pointed out that it was easy for men like them to carry off Cakestkam with all his riches. He exaggerated the obligation which the king of Visapour, their common master, would owe them and the recompense they must expect therefrom. For in the East, as among us, able men always know how to palliate the hardihood of their rebellions by misrepresenting the interests of the prince.

Near the camp of Cakestkam there was a small (but) very dense forest very suitable for warlike stratagems. It was there that Seva-gy concealed his soldiers during the day-time waiting for the cool obscurity of night. Cakestkam was not upon his guard, and although he had his sentinels placed, the example of the commander had spoilt the soldier and discipline was but little observed. It is true that scouts had reported that troops had been seen on the outskirts of the forest, but no suspicion was entertained thereof, in the belief that it might be the residence of some great lord of Indostan, who was repairing to the court of the Mogol.

Night came. Seva-gy, without noise and under cover of darkness, conducted his troops to the middle of the enemy's camp. The night was extremely dark and there was no moon. One can imagine the disorder that prevailed when all of a sudden these men, hitherto unperceived by any, flung themselves sword in hand upon whomsoever they met. Forthwith the air resounded with the cries of the unhappy ones who found themselves assailed unawares, and with the increase of the noise the alarm of the camp spread to the town. The Governor of the town thought that the advanced guards had been attacked and the enemy was preparing for a general assault. It was not known whether the besiegers or the besieged were most troubled. Both the parties considered themselves betrayed and as the horrors of the night still more increased their suspicions there was nothing that was not imagined at that moment. The son of the general, a young man of good countenance and great prospects, who had, unfortunately come from the army the day before, to receive his father's orders, immediately mounted a horse and was ready to offer resistance. He behaved valiantly and with a band of men whom he found about him, gave a performance of mettle and fire, as could be expected of a brave young boy, little accustomed, however, to the chances of war. His ardour carried him too far and his valour cost him his life. He fell pierced with wounds, a pitiable sight that must have moved even those who had caused it. Others who had held back, abashed by

the sense of having abandoned such a commander, tarried no longer when they saw him dead. His father who was in his seraglio, learnt at that moment of the misfortune of his son and of his own and there was weeping and wailing all around. The women tore their hair and beat their faces surrounding a father rendered motionless by the magnitude of his affliction. At last the bravest (men in the army) hurried up and ranged themselves near his person, resolved to perish to the last, in order to prevent him from being captured, and they achieved their object by an obstinate defence.

The cause and the origin of the tumult were yet unknown. They did not know whether the enemies had come to surprise them or the army had risen against the general. To ascertain what it was, fires were lighted throughout the camp but their dismay redoubled when by the dim light of burning logs they recognised Seva-gy and the subjects of the king of Visapour. It was not suspected that all the soldiers of the king (of Bijapur) were not near and that they had not come to lay siege to the town after defeating the army. General Cakestkam was wounded during the tumult with two sword cuts and as it was necessary for him either to vanquish or to die, he performed deeds of extraordinary bravery. Day approached and they would have seen it clearly if the light preceding it had not been obscured by the smouldering logs. The rumour spread that the army of Visapour was on the march and its leading files would soon be perceived. Seva-gy gave the order for retreat, to avoid being overwhelmed as he would surely have been if his enemies could discover the small number of his men. The battle order was so well preserved among his troops that maddened as they were with killing and pillaging they left off as soon as the command was issued and retreated in good order, loaded with spoils of which however greater part they had to forego in obedience to orders. The density of the forest favoured their retreat and the fright they had left behind them gave them time to regain their posts before the break of day. They were in safety but those in the camp no longer considered themselves secure.

Seva-gy was not content with this success, which could only satisfy a less ambitious person. But it gave him little pleasure to have pillaged the camp and to have committed such a carnage there with so few troops without any loss except that of a few soldiers. He had wanted to capture the Mogol general and he believed he had accomplished nothing because he had not been able to do what he wanted.

The second enterprise of Seva-gy was against Surate, which he caused to be pillaged by his army, with the object of enriching himself and to accustom his men to glory, and if that had not sufficient force, to follow him at least in the expectation of spoils. He had not got much of the treasures of this opulent city to carry on the long wars in which his revolt and valour engaged him, yet he was not ignorant of the maxim of the seditious that once you rise against your lawful prince you are a rebel for ever.

Surate was without any defence that could arrest (the attack of) an army. And the courage of its inhabitants certainly did not serve as

ramparts. The merchants, who abounded in the place, had little experience of war and intent on the preservation of their private merchandise could only but feebly contribute to the smooth conduct of public affairs that sometimes demanded the sacrifice of private interest. Besides many Indians in Surate had, owing to their ideas of morality which approached that of Pythagoras, so great a horror for bloodshed that they would not kill the meanest animal, far less massacre men, a very good sentiment if everybody shared it. It was in the following manner that Seva-gy conducted his enterprise.

He travelled only during night in order to conceal his movement and avoid the heat. During daytime he retired to places hidden by the woods that sheltered him from the heat of the sun. There his soldiers reposed at ease and the horses refreshed themselves in the rivers, the banks whereof supplied them with abundant forage and entailed the soldiers no trouble or risk.

He was master of the country and soon appeared at the gates of Surate, and the only thought of the citizens now was how to guard against plunder. But the downfall of the city was imminent. Being half a day's march from the town, Seva-gy had already made preparations, not for an attack on the bastions but a plundering raid. In assigning quarters he had made an exception in favour of the residences of the English, the Dutch and the Capuchin Fathers. The latter were exempted on account of the general regard for them as good *religieux*, and in order that he might not have the appearance of scorning popular respect for their persons. The rest (were excepted) because he knew that they were provided with fine cannons and that there might be veteran soldiers in those houses. Besides (he thought) it would be very easy hereafter to be allied with the Europeans trading in India of which, he foresaw there might be need one day.(1) The French had as yet no establishment at Surate.

Everything being thus arranged Seva-gy advanced as far as the gardens on the environs of the city. The Governor had been informed thereof ; but he had so little suspicion of any one coming to attack him that Seva-gy managed to enter the place without any difficulty, for his soldiers did not outwardly look what they really were, as they were leading with them some beasts of burden with their arms hidden. Each of them knew where he should repair but they followed no orders in their march. People mistook them, as Cakestkam had done, for the retinue of some powerful Indian whose equipages were constantly seen moving in Surate, presenting among other things, the appearance of a whole army.

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(1) This is fairly corroborated by the Dutch account of the first sack of Surat. Shivaji had indeed sent a Greek named Nicholas Colasta to demand money of the Director of the Dutch company without specifying any sum, but the latter answered " that there was very little money at the factory but that if a present of some spice would please Sivagy he was willing to give him the same. The Director further charged the Greek to remind Sivagy that at Vingurla he had never troubled the company but rather shown himself friendly by giving them free escorts and therefore he quite hoped Sivagy would protect the company's servants in Surat against the evil minded." It seems that no serious effort was made to molest the Dutch though they suspected that the houses in their neighbourhood had been set on fire with evil intention. Dutch Records, India Office Transcripts (English Translation), Vol. 27, DCCXIX.

The soldiers had time to take their posts in different quarters of the city and on the main roads without being questioned by any inhabitant or stranger as to what they were doing and by whose authority. Seva-gy coolly gave his orders even as he liked, as if it were in a town that had already recognised his authority and none came forward to oppose him. Meanwhile the tumult quickly spread on all sides. The signal was given and the soldiers commenced the pillage. All on a sudden they fell upon whomsoever they found at hand irrespective of age or sex. They killed some of them while the rest fled away, carrying what they could and leaving to the avarice of the troops what they could not. Then they entered the houses, plundered them and placed their spoils on their horses and in the carts they had brought for that purpose. There was no form of cruelty that they did not practise upon women and old people who had been detained in their lodgings through weakness or age. They wanted thereby to make them disclose where the rest of their treasures was concealed. The two governors were plunged into despair, their only care being how to hide themselves and the more valuable things they possessed. They were swayed by their interest and avarice which made them override the dictates of duty. At last the governor of the castle opened artillery fire upon the town. He shot at random and if it was to a certain extent fraught with danger in regard to Seva-gy's soldiers, it rendered the destruction of the people of Surate most certain. The cannon demolished their houses and set them ablaze at the same time that the enemy despoiled them of their furniture and emptied their stores.

Seva-gy was on horseback, with a small number of officers watching the carts and laden horses marching to the place of rendezvous. The sack lasted for three days and three nights. Seva-gy then left Surate as easily as he had entered it having found in one single city all the wealth of the East and securing such war funds as would not fail him for a long time. There remained only the preparations. His followers were obedient and Seva-gy soon made the East see in a rebel subject a conqueror worthy among other things of being compared to the greatest men. Hitherto he had himself commanded his army without the assistance of any one, but as he wanted to augment (his forces) greatly he appointed besides himself four Lieutenant Generals and gave them large sums of money both for furnishing themselves with what they needed to maintain their rank and for distribution among their companies. He sent men to all sides with money to enlist soldiers. Others he sent to watch the attitude of the Mogol and the king of Visapour. When he had mobilised a big army he did not hasten to attempt the things he had planned. He had among his troops many young men, novices still in the profession, whom he had collected from all sides. To accustom them to their profession he encamped for nearly three months in bare fields, teaching them how to handle horses and fight and training them carefully in all the exercises of the military art.

On the other hand the Mogol was offended by the affront that he supposed to have received from the king of Visapour. He could not

make out whether Seva-gy had attacked him of his own accord or by the order of his master. However he entered the kingdom. He captured some places and gained some advantage in a few engagements. The troops of the king were very inferior in numbers and valour. The king of Golkonda came to the rescue of his ally with a powerful army and repelled the Mogol, who however did not lose his hope of revenge though he found himself constrained to postpone it.

Seva-gy spent this time in occupying several places of Visapour and at last made the Mogol realise that he had acted on his own initiative in his attempt upon the person of Cakestkam. He entered the maritime towns, almost all of which he found unprotected, the king having withdrawn his troops to wage war against the Mogol; the gates, which could not have held out long, were thrown open to him (Seva-gy) at the first report of his name, which was so great that resistance seemed useless, for resistance would do nothing but add to his glory. He selected the maritime places as they were easier to defend and more difficult to attack. Apart from the convenience of the ports and the freedom (they offered) of putting out to sea, his further reflection was that by occupying the coast and treating well the Europeans who came to India he might make them love him and serve him.

In fact along the stretch of the sea where he was the master, there never passed a ship of Europe to which the Governors did not send refreshments with all proffers of help, such as could hardly be expected by an allied prince. I passed that way in 1668 with two ships of the company and we were treated in a manner which was beyond our expectation. It was a part of his policy, but it was also due to the preference he felt for the people of Europe and above all for our nation, whom he held in esteem for the renown they everywhere enjoy as the most warlike nation in the world.

He captured several other towns, fortified by nature and by the hand of man, and he made his way into places that were believed to be inaccessible. The forces of the king of Visapour being divided were less capable of opposing such a conqueror, who had all the qualities of a great general and above all a clearness of resolution and an unusual activity that almost always proves decisive in affairs of war. Hardly had he won a battle or taken a town in one end of the kingdom, than he was at the other extremity causing havoc everywhere and surprising important places. To this quickness of movement, he added like Julius Caesar, a clemency and bounty that won him the hearts of those his arms had worsted. He made inroads into the territories of the Portuguese who had given him offence; he wrested from them the island of Bardes(1) and after desolating the country caused them great anxiety for Goa. He then retraced his steps, re-entered the country of the Mogol, subjugated a big province and levied large contributions and demonstrated to him (the Mogol) that he was able alone without the help of

(1) Lakham Savant and other fugitives used to cause trouble to Shivaji's subjects from their safe retreat in the Portuguese territories and Shivaji sent a retaliatory expedition to Bardes in November 1667. See Pissurlençar, *Portuguese e Maratas*, p. 17.

Golkonda or Deccan, to hold his own and further that he was about to cause an affront to the heart of his states. If Seva-gy possessed military qualities to such a high degree he was none the less a capable man, knowing more than one way of reaching his goal.

He practised upon tradesmen and toiling merchants in such a way that during the different journeys they were obliged to make, they took care to speak well of him, praising his method of governing and making men's minds yield to it. He contrived it in such a way, all the more sure as it was imperceptible, that they spoke like disinterested persons. Then, on their advice he lived up to his reputation and did not allow the enthusiasm to cool down—an enthusiasm which so much propagandism had roused for him in the hearts of the people. By all these means Seva-gy reached such a degree of power that the Grand Mogol apprehensive of the loss of his state prepared himself as best as he could to wage a war against him. Aurengzeb recalled his uncle Cakestkam and loaded him with all the honours suitable to his rank and age, to console him for all that had happened to him and for the death of the young prince, his son. He gave him, along with the Government of Bengale and the office of General of the army, the title of Viceroy over all the lands held by Emir Jumla, that famous Persian who had quitted the court of Golkonda where he was held in high esteem, to be in the service of the Mogol who owed much to his prudence and his counsels. It meant an honourable retirement for Cakestkam and an occasion of putting in his place some one who had more vigour and greater firmness and was better fitted to resist the progress of Seva-gy, whose valour, like a rushing torrent, carried every place he fell upon. He selected Jesseingue a powerful lord of his court, who had rendered him excellent services in the affairs he was engaged in at beginning of his reign.

Jesseingue set out with instructions to retake the places Seva-gy had conquered from the Mogol. He had secret instructions among others to spare no pains to win over Seva-gy and to induce him to accept the command of the Mogol armies. Seva-gy marched straight to the front of Jesseingue to offer him battle. Jesseingue refused to fight. He knew how to conduct himelf so as not to be forced easily. Jesseingue invested a strong town[1] and when his work was sufficiently advanced he laid siege to it with great military skill.

The defence of the besieged was so vigorous that the Mogol General despaired of reducing the place and preferred entering into negotiations with Seva-gy to persisting any longer. He offered him on behalf of his master great honours and position if he would enter into his service. Seva-gy lent his ears to these proposals and entered into an agreement that placed him at the head of the Mogol forces and opened so grand a career to his valour.

His valour shone in the war he waged against the king of Visapour and if he had not stained his great deeds by the disgrace attached to his

(1) Carré undoubtedly refers to the siege of Purandhr by Diler Khan.

ruining the motherland, he would have deserved unbounded praise. The Mogol wanted to employ Seva-gy in the war he was preparing to wage against the king of Persia. He therefore invited him to come to his court and to render his sojourn there more agreeable he made him a Raja, the highest dignity to which the king could raise those he wished to honour. He also gave his son an office of distinction and placed him much above the young lords of his age.

Seva-gy appeared at the Court of the Mogol with all the pomp and *éclat* befitting his rank and reputation but he went there so well accustomed to honours and with such an air of nobility that he was regarded as a man much above his deserts. There was no kind of good treatment that he did not receive from the Prince. He was not (however) equally well regarded by everybody. Cakestkam was absent from the court, but there were his wife and a large number of followers who came either of their own accord or on purpose. These were the enemies Seva-gy had made the day he attempted to capture Cakestkam; the jealousy, which besets great people, was aroused against him more than others and it irritated those very persons so furiously that they made a very serious intrigue to ruin him. The wife of Cakestkam, an arrogant princess by birth, considered herself bound in honour to pursue the murderer of her son, who had done her husband an egregious offence and had only missed killing him; a man moreover, who had sacked the wealthiest and the most flourishing city of the Mogol. She was so near the king and had raised against Seva-gy so powerful a party that they resolved to arrest him. The king desired to give this satisfaction to the afflicted friends of his uncle, but he offered, according to his word and in view of the need that he had of Seva-gy, to open to him the means of escaping shortly after his imprisonment.

These manœuvres of the king hardly succeeded; he pleased none by wishing to satisfy everybody. Seva-gy only felt the injury done to him and the party of Cakestkam deemed the flight of the prisoner very improper, the facility of which betrayed the king.

Seva-gy returned to his army, saw well that he could depend upon none for rest and conceived the idea of founding a lawful kingdom by force of brigandage. He heartily caressed his officers whom he called his brothers and friends, living with them in familiarity and hoping for every distinction by their care without giving himself any. He conducted himself with great ability, affecting nothing, making others to propose things to which he appeared to be indifferent but which he very fundamentally desired.

When he considered himself in a condition to expect everything from the good will of his men, he gave a splendid feast to his generals and when the feast reached its height, having been proposed as king by his supporters, the army responded with acclamation and cries of joy. He was proclaimed king of all the lands he had conquered. The principal officers and the chiefs of the troops took the oath of

fealty. He founded for himself a kingdom at the expense of the kings of Visapour, Deccan, and the Mogol. Tired of victory he wanted to secure his conquests by limiting them. The Mogol army was prepared to fight him ; he was short of money ; partly in the different wars he had waged and partly in the court, he had exhausted his treasures. This is what made him resolve to plunder Surate for a second time. He took himself there in a manner different from before.

He therefore opened negotations with the Governor(1) over a certain arrangement, and when an understanding was reached with him, he haughtily demanded of the city of Surate a sum of ten millions (threatening that) otherwise he would come himself to plunder it. What I have to say about this transaction I have learnt from an officer, who had no doubt about it, for he was in the service of the governor when this treason was plotted. Under this appearance of unreservedness and this very air of brutality, Seva-gy concealed his deceit and believed to have placed the governor in safety as far as the court was concerned. But the traitor was punished for it and lost his life as we shall see anon. I shall not go into the details of this second enterprise ; suffice it to say, that having sent word to the inhabitants about the day and hour he would enter into Surate, Seva-gy exactly kept his word. He might have had some twelve thousand men with him and it was astonishing how a town sufficiently well fortified and inhabited by more than four hundred thousand men did not make the least resistance ; either terror had damped their spirit or so many people, differing so much in nationality and interests and so little used to arms, embarrassed one another rather than rendering aid to one another and to the city. Seva-gy wanted to plunder at ease and he came to Surate to take booty and not to fight. He made peace with the Governor. He sent an officer of his army(2) to the residences of the three nations of Europe he dreaded most, the French, the English and the Dutch and gave them a timely notice to display their standards on the top of their terraces that they might be saved thereby from the fury of the soldiers.

We had been established at Surate only for a year. M. Carron, who was at the head of our merchants, showed that even in a very advanced age, for he was seventy years old, he preserved courage and resolution. He thanked Seva-gy and caused a thousand flattering things to be told him through the officer who had come to warn him to be on his guard ; but he led him to the environs where the merchants of France had gathered and made him take note of the number of artillery that was quite ready

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(1) Francis Martin was at Surat in March 1670. He says that a second attack from Shivaji was apprehended at the time of his visit. The Governor consulted Monsieur Carron about the defence of the city which was open on one side but did nothing to remove this defect and this led Martin to suspect that the Governor had a secret understanding with Shivaji—" le gouverneur n'en fit rien neanmoins l'on croioit aussy qu'il avoit intelligences avec Sivagy." Francois Martin, *Memoir sur l'establissements des colonies Francaises des l'Inde Orientale*, fol. 92, ob. (A. N. T. 1169).

(2) The Dutch Resident at Surat also wrote—" A messenger had come from the invader to assure us that no harm would befall us if we remained quiet." India Office Transcripts, English Translation, Vol. 29, No. DCCLXIIII.

to play and told him clearly that the quarters of the French were considered safe by means other than that of Seva-gy's clemency.(1)

Seva-gy was at the gates of the town and the Governor had retired to the castle carrying there some counsels befitting a traitor and calculated to bring about the success of his treachery. This was to demolish a wall that covered the march of Seva-gy and this gave Seva-gy great facility for making his troops file up. This was to open the town to Seva-gy and ensure the success of his plan, under the pretext of firing upon him from the top of the fortress. It was intended to arm every one but it was intended too late; the enemy was already in the town. The violence was extreme and no one was spared. Our French people behaved boldly and wore such a confident look that they saved their houses from pillage. They even compelled the soldiers to leave the neighbouring houses where they had been led by fury and avarice. To judge by his bravery, M. Carron, even with the coolness of the Dutch, passed for a Frenchman.

The treason of the Governor of Surate having been reported, the Mogol resolved to get rid of him by poison, in the same way as he had caused Jesseingue, Governor of Decan, to perish for the same reason, a means unworthy of a Prince who exercises upon his subjects absolute right of punishment.

The Mogol has always near his person a large number of Faquiers who are called friends of God for making themselves friends of men and who conceal disgraceful sins under the mask of extraordinary piety. These Faquiers are skilful poisoners and their art is so fine that its effect is difficult to detect until it is beyond remedy. They make extensive use of perfumes as things to be least suspected and they know how to put in a scented letter or a bouquet or a fruit a poison that kills immediately.

It is the custom that when anybody is highly successful either in civil affairs or in war, the Mogol thanks him by letter; these letters are received with profound respect and grand ceremonies; before being opened they are placed upon the head and to be kissed they are carried several times to the mouth. Often the joy is not long. These letters suffused with a subtle poison mingle the tears with the pleasure of receiving them. The Mogol addressed to the Governor of Surate such a letter impressed with a poison in which the most learned Faquier had exhausted all his skill. The Governor had assembled all his friends and the chiefs of the Europeans to receive this honour. He fell dead while kissing the letter according to the custom of the country. Our surgeons who opened his head found without difficulty trace of poison. Judicious

(1)This is contradicted by the Dutch Resident who writes: "The French did not attempt to make any opposition although at that time they numbered 150 whites, had about a dozen cannon of fair calibre, 400 fire balls and a large number of grenades, and they quietly suffered that two of their black servants were shot before their eyes, notwithstanding by a valuable present they had obtained from Shivaji's representative the declaration that they should be free from molestation." India Office, English Translation, Vol. 29, No. DCCLXIII.

men made this reflection that this kind of penalty that befalls only the person of the guilty and renders the conduct of the Prince dubious loses the two great effects of punishment—*viz.*, example and the precaution that it may not occur.

Such is the history of Seva-gy, who while we were at Surate made himself the subject of discussion throughout the whole of the East and rendered his name terrible to many a king who had experience of his arms or his intrigues which he conducted with equal skill.

VII.—Dr. FRYER'S ACCOUNT OF THE MARATHAS

[Dr. John Fryer was born in London about 1650. He was educated at Cambridge, and took his M. B. degree in 1671. In 1672, he was appointed Surgeon to the East India Company, and in the same year sailed for Bombay, which he reached in December 1673. It was while he was in Bombay that President Aungier despatched the famous embassy, under Henry Oxinden, to Sivaji at Raigarh. In 1674 he was in Surat. He travelled from Bombay to Junnar, and also visited Karwar, and made a long journey up the Persian Gulf and into Persia. He returned to England in 1682, became an M. D. and a Fellow of the Royal Society, and died at a ripe old age in 1733. Fryer's work is characterised by a quick sense of humour, much power of observation and deep learning. He gives detailed accounts of the reports he heard about the Marathas, about the exploits of Sivaji, especially the murder of Afzal Khan, and of the Maratha misgovernment in Kanara. Altogether his *New Account* of *East India and Persia* is a contemporary document of great value to the student of the history of Western India in the latter half of the 17th century.]

The Maratha Conquest of Kanara, 1675

After some time, curiosity more than Business tempted me to go with the Chief of Carwar, that I might see Goa. In our Passage at Serapatan,(1) to the South of Dande Rajapore, a strong castle of Seva Gi's defended a deep Bay, where rode his Navy, consisting of 30 Small Ships and Vessels, the Admiral(2) wearing a White Flag aloft.

Arriving at Carwar, and the Chief going ashore, he was met on the River by the Governor with two Barges; and landing was welcomed by the Ordnance of the English House.

Carwar, what remains of it, is under the New Conquest of Seva Gi, being lately, with Anchola,(3) Pundit,(4) Cuderah(5) and Semissar,(6) brought under (though all of them very Strong Places): At which time the English were moulding a Fortification, or House of Defence, for their own safety, when by the Assistance of a Small Pink(7) they defended themselves from all Hostile Mischances; and though their Town was wholly laid in Ashes,

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(1) Srivardhan, a bay about 12 miles S. of Janjira.

(2) The flag ship. (3) Ankola in N. Kanara.

(4) Phonda, on the pass of the same name in the S. E. corner of the Ratnagiri District, commanding one of the chief routes into N. Kanara.

(5) Kadra in N. Kanara District on the Kalinadi river, 20 miles N. E. of Karwar.

(6) Shiveshwar or Halekot, a fort, 4 miles N. of Sadashivgad, a little N. of Karwar in N. Kanara District.

(7) A small sailing vessel.

yet they built this their stately Mansion Four-Square, guarded by Two Bulwarks at the Commanding Corners of the House : In the mean while Seva Gi made himself Master of Carwar Castle, together with the rest, the Inhabitants flying to the Woods and Hills for shelter : Thus it continues not without daily disturbance from these Sylvans and Mountaineers, the commiserated Subjects of Visiapour, who often make an Head and fall upon them ; by which means the Government is unsettled, and the Governors shift from Place to Place.

Our House stands on a delicate Mead on the Ground of Cutteen Esq.(1) a Cornish Gentleman, who had it by grant from the King of Visiapour, being impowered by a Claim of his Countrymen to the Right of Trading to the East-Indies, but long since left off, Seated on an Arm of the River, surveying a pleasant Island stored with Game : The Castle is nearer the Hills and higher up the Streams ; about a League off the Sea the Hills guard the Plain till they make a Bank against the Ocean.

Seva in his Government imitates the Moors in this, appointing a distinct Governor here for Town and Castle, and over all these a Commander with a Flying Army, who is Superintendent : Into Places of Trust and Authority he puts only Brachmins or their Substitutes, *viz.*, Pundits,(2) (a mean cast) for Physicians ; Sfosdars(3) or Centurions, Subidars,(4) Havaldars, Civil Governors, Generals or Fighting Bishops ; of whom truly may be said, *Privata cuique stimulatio vile decus publicum.*(5) They are neither for Publick Good or Common Honesty, but their own private Interest only : They refuse no Base Offices for their own Commodity, inviting Merchants to come and trade among them, and then rob them, or else turmoil them on account of Customs ; always in a Corner getting more for themselves than their Master, yet openly must seem mighty zealous for their Master's Dues : So that Trade is unlikely to settle where he hath any thing to do ; notwithstanding his Country lies all along on the Sea-shore, and no Goods can be transported without his Permission ; unless they go a great way about, as we are forced to do.

It is a General Calamity, and much to be deplored, to hear the Complaints of the poor People that remain, or are rather compelled to endure the Slavery of Seva Gi : The Desies(6) have Land imposed upon them at double the former Rates, and if they refuse to accept it on these hard conditions (if monied Men) they are carried to Prison, there they are famished almost to death ; racked and tortured most inhumanly till they confess where it is ; They have now in Limbo several Brachmins, whose Flesh they tear with Pincers heated Red-hot, drub them on the Shoulders to extreme Anguish, (though according to their Law, it is

(1) Sir William Courten, who died in 1636, when his license was renewed to his son W. Courten.

(2) Pandit is probably a slip for Vaidya on the part of the author.

(3) Pers. Faujdar, a military commandant.

(4) Pers. Subadar, Officer in charge of a Subah.

(5) Tacitus, Hist. i., 90. "Their individual greed led to the lowering of public credit."

(6) Desai, a headman, a petty chief.

forbidden to strike a Brachmin). This is the accustomed Sawce all India over, the Princes doing the same by the Governors, when removed from their Offices, to squeeze their ill-got Estates out of them; which when they have done, it may be they may be employ'd again: And after this fashion the Desies deal with the Combies[1]; so that the Great Fish prey on the Little, as well by Land as by Sea, bringing not only them, but their Families into Eternal Bondage.

However, under the King of Visiapour the Taxations were much milder, and they lived with far greater comfort; but since the Death of the late King, his son being in Minority, and the Kingdom left to a Protector, the Nobles, who held their Provinces as Feudatories or rather Vassals of him, begin to withdraw their Duty; Bullul Caun,[2] General under the Protector Cowis Caun,[3] an Hobsy, or Arabian Coffery[4] (they being preferred here to Chief Employments which they enter on by the Name of Siddies) having but the other day set upon the Protector and assassinated him; who was so terrible to Seva Gi's Men, that to render him the more dreadful, they speak of his Hobsies after this manner, That with their Swords they are able to cut down Man and Horse: That greater Commotions than yet have happened, are to be expected in this Kingdom; not only Seva Gi but the Mogul at this time bidding for the Kingdom.

Bullul Caun is a good Soldier, and a Patan; yet as much envied by the Duccan Princes, as Cowis Caun was by him; whereupon it behoves him to be watchful of their Motions, to which Vigilancy adding Expedition, he yet keeps them from joining Forces: Where leaving him on his Guard, I will present you with a small Taste of the Condition of the People about us, which fell out the Day before I set out for Goa, being desirous to be present at the Natal.

Early in the Morning came Delvi's[5] Men, 500 in Company; whereupon Seva Gi's Men being about 100 Foot, and 25 Horse, retired into the Castle; miserable Souls for Soldiers on both sides; they look'd like our old Britains, half naked, and as fierce, where all lies open before them: They had a loud Noise of Musick, and a tumultuous Throng of People, and thus they marched on without any Order, till they encamped near our House: Their Leader was a Man of a good Presence, but a Rogue, an Hindu by Birth, a Soldier by Education; making this his Maxim, *Ibi Fas ubi maxima Merces*: There is the greatest Right where is the best Pay.

At Noon, by the Hurly-burly of all Ranks of Men, Women and Children, with what little Substance they had, flying under our Guns for Succour, we were given to understand Seva Gi's Men were in Motion (whom they

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(1) Kunbis, cultivators.

(2) Bahlol Khan, or Abdul Karim Bahlol Khan, son of Bahlol Khan, an Afghan, originally a follower of the famous Khan Jahan Lodi, and afterwards a general under the Nizam Shahi State.

(3) Khawas Khan, originally a Habshi or Abyssinian slave, son of Khan Muhammad. He was assassinated by Karim Shirzah in 1675.

(4) Kafri, Kaffir, an infidel.

(5) Delavi, a Commander, leader.

dread more than the other); but on appearance of the Desy's Grob(1) they retreated again : This Desy is one that was Rendero(2) of all this Country, under the King of Visiapour, and had 1,000 Men under him (of whom Delvi was Chief) ; but being entrapped by his Subtilties, whom he least suspected (being raised by him) he was forced to subscribe to the Power of Seva ; of whom Delvi not having his Ends, he turns about, and does promise to set his former Master in Possession once more. At Night we had Letters (for you must know both Parties Salam to us, being in so strong an House, else we should be liable to their Fury), that Seva Gi's Party of Horse, whilst Delvi had passed the River, seized his Baggage, which was left guarded by 60 Men, whereof he having Notice, soon overtakes them, and causes them to surrender their Booty, driving them to the Castle, with the loss of two of their Horses, and one Cavaleiro slain : Under these circumstances these Folks are left to struggle, without hope of Relief from Visiapour, they being all to pieces there.

The Early Career of Sivaji

Seva Gi is reckoned also as a diseased Limb of Duccan, impostumated and swoln too big for the Body ; in some respects benefiting, in others discommoding it ; beneficial, by opposing the Mogul's Entry into the Kingdom ; but prejudicial in being his own Paymaster, rewarding himself most unconscionably ; all Conchon(3) being little enough for him, extending in Length along the Sea-Coasts 250 leagues, that is, from Balsore Hills to the River Gongole;(4) where neither is he limited in his extravagant Desires, expecting only opportunity to gain further. Inland he hath not much, the Gaut(5) seeming to be a Natural Line of Circumvallation to the Up-Country, where it is Campaign, though below Hilly ; so that you ascend to it by Mountains piled on one another, over which Seva Gi hath total Dominion, the Duccanees not striving to retake any thing, for all he hath blocked up their Ports, which may prejudice them for the future ; an irreparable Damage, (Arab Steeds being the Life of their Cavalry) ; they having only Porto Novo(6) beyond Tutticaree(7) left them free.

Nor has he done this Injury to them alone, but the Mogul hath the same measure up as far as Surat ; so that he enjoys them wholly, excepting what the Portugals have, and the English at Bombaim ; which are of no Import in respect of Trade, while the Caphalaes(8) are hindred to pass those ways ; of which did he know or consider the Advantage, he might amass greater Treasures than he purchases by pillaging and pilfering, and might come off with the Glorious Name of a Conqueror ; whereas otherwise, following his barbarous Courses of Fire and Sword,

(1) Ar. Ghurab, grab, a galley.
(2) Port. Rendeiro, a tax-farmer.
(3) The Konkan.
(4) The Gangavali river in Dharwar District.
(5) The Western Ghat range.
(6) In S. Arcot District.
(7) Tuticorin.
(8) Kafila, caravan.

he merits no more than to be branded as a Thief; Witness those intolerable Cruelties, Devastations and Deserts made by him every where in his Range up and down in the Mogul's Territories, as well as in the Duccanean. 'Tis undeniable he hath taken and maintains against the Moguls Sixty odd strong Hills; But the Cause is, the Moguls are unacquainted with, and their Bodies unfit for such barren and uneasy Places; so that they rather chuse to desert than defend them: Whereby it is sufficiently evident Seva Gi is unable in the Plain to do anything but Rob, Spoil, and return with all the speed imaginable: And on that account it is Aurenzeeb calls him his Mountain Rat,(1) with which the greatest systems of Monarchy in the World, though continued by an uninterrupted Descent of Imperial Ancestry, have ever been infested, finding it more hard to fight with Mountains than Men.

Thus it falls out here, by the like Chance as in most Conquests, that though the major Part have submitted to their Victorious Arms, yet some out of Confidence in their Strength, Reputation, or Fortitude, have been so daring as to oppose by open Violence or secret Stratagem, the acquired Trophies of the Triumphing Party: As the Apennegeni did the Romans, and the Wild People about Taurus and Caucasus the Grecians; the Welsh, the English; the Highlanders, the Switz; and as many as have been encouraged thereto by the inaccessibleness of their Fortresses, or the Discontent of some Great Ones to head them: From whence, though inconsiderable in themselves, it is, that they presume to boast of their never being totally subdued.

Such are the Rajahs of the Mountains, the most eminent among whom is Seva Gi, derived from an Ancient Line of Rajahs,(2) of the Caste of the Bouncelors(3) and a Warlike and Active Offspring; His Grandfather was a Man in Esteem under Nisham Shaw, whose name was Vangu Gi Rajah, his father Shaw Gi Rajah(4) and was made Commander by the same King of Juneah Gur(5) where upon that Rock his first Wife brought forth the Obdurate Seva Gi, his Eldest Son, and Samba Gi, his Second; by another Wife, he had a Third Son Ekou Gi.

Upon the downfall of Nisham Shaw, the Father and his other Sons listed themselves as Pensioners to the King of Visiapour, where the Father was, and the Sons now are advanced to considerable Employs. Seva Gi could not be won upon, but sought to raise himself by the ruins of others, setting the lesser Lords at variance with their Prince, in whose

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(1) The origin of this phrase is obscure. Grose, *Voyage to the East Indies*, 1757, says "Many of the aborigines Gentoos. . . .retired for shelter to the numerous mountains of Indostan, and there burrowed in inaccessible fastnesses upon which Aurenzeb gave them the humorous nickname of Mountain-rats".

(2) According to Khafi Khan, Sivaji traced his descent from the line of the Ranas of Chitor. His grandfather, Jadu Rao, was supposed to be descended from the Rajas of Deogarh. See above, pp. 157, 172.

(3) Bhosle. The name is derived from the village Bhosawat near the Bhosa fort, in Bombay.

(4) Shahaji. (5) Junnar.

Quarrels he always made sure of the upper Ground ; wherefore his father at his Death disinherited him and instated his youngest son Ekou Gi in the Rajahship of Benglure[1] ; a Starveling Rajahship, since it hath been harass'd by the Troubles of Duccan, where he sits down quietly, whilst this Turbulent Young Man works himself into Greatness.

At which the King of Visapour beginning to cast an Eye, finding him aspiring and intending to blast him in the Bud, sent a Potent Army against him, conducted by Abdul Caun,[2] an experienced Soldier, yet outwitted by Sewa Gi : For he understanding of his having taken the Field, while the Main Body was yet at distance enough, he sent to him flattering and seducing Messages, intimating withal, if he would but stop his March, at an appointed Choultry[3] out of sight of each Rendezvouz, he would meet him, and kiss his feet ; begging that he would act the obliging Office of a Peacemaker between him and the King.

Abdul Caun thinking no less than that he meant sincerely, consented, though advised to the contrary by his Friends, (whether out of Superstition, as the dying of an Elephant, and other bad presaging Omens, or they doubting the Integrity of Seva Gi, I know not) but they could not prevail : At the Day prefixed therefore he takes with him his Son and a selected number, which he credited would not be outequalled by Seva Gi, upon his former Protestations and Hopes of Reconcilement ; but the Perfidious Man had placed an Ambuscado, and with a smaller Shew in appearance than Abdul brought, waits his coming ; who as soon as he spied him afar off, went forth to meet him and prostrates himself before him with feigned Tears, craving pardon for his offence, and would not rise till he had assured him of his being his Advocate to procure it : Going to enter the Choultry together, he cries out, like a fearful Man, That his Lord (so he stiled the General) might execute his Pleasure on him and ease him of his Life ; which Abdul Khan surmising was because he was armed, and the other came seemingly unarmed, delivered his Sword and Ponyard to his Page, and bad him enter with Courage ; where after some Parley he slips a Stiletto from under his coat-sleeve, and then eying his Blow, stuck it at his Heart, whereat the Signal was given, and his Men came forth, in which Scuffle Abdul's Son gave Seva Gi a Wound, but was forced to change Habit, with a Frass[4] immediately, and venturing through untrodden paths hardly escaped to the Camp, who thereupon were so discomfited, that they quickly dispersed themselves and left the Field open to Seva Gi.

Who, grown proud with this good Fortune, resolves not to return till he had sacked Panala,[5] one of their Wealthiest and strongest Cities ;

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(1) Bangalore. (2) Afzal Khan.

(3) A traveller's bungalow. The word is only used in S. India.

(4) Pers. *Farash*, a menial.

(5) Panhala, a fort on a spur of the Sahyadri range, in the Kolhapur District, about 12 miles N. W. of that city. It was captured by Shivaji's General, Annaji Datto, in 1659.

but finding it a Work not over-facile, they within, though thinly Mann'd, being obstinate, he disbands therefore under pretext of Ill Usage, Seven or Eight Hundred of his Men who presently took their way to the City, and offer their Service, complaining of Seva Gi as an Inhuman Butcherly Fellow, some Marks of which they produced on those suborned for that purpose: The present Occasions urging, and being willing to blind themselves with the Improbability of its being a Cheat, they within admitted them the City, but so as for some time they could not put their plot in execution, the Citizens watching at Night the Gates with their own Men, and disposing them on the Walls and Out-posts: but the Inhabitants taken up with their Delight more than Security, had pester'd the Ditches with Gardens and Trees, whereby on a Set Night, they on the Walls having so contrived it, received their Friends of the Camp under Covert of the Trees, and overpowering the Citizens, opened the Gates, whereupon the Enemy entered, and by this Treachery the City was gained for Seva Gi; which he makes his Retreat ordering those Trees to be cut down that were so fatal to the former Possessors.

And now he forages the Country, and lays all waste in his Round, till young Abdul was reinforced to revenge his Father's Death, and to join with another General Rustam Gemma(1) with whom Seva Gi had been tampering: Such is the covetous Nature of these people that Money shall corrupt the most Loyal among them: Which made him when they were ready to give battle, withdraw his Cavalry, leaving Young Abdul and his Men to try it out with Seva Gi, whose Force, though an Handful, fell bravely on and so gauled Seva Gi, that he wished him well off; Abdul crying out wherever he went, Thou Coward Seva, Here Am I; Whereof though Seva has noticed, he avoided him, saying he was a Rash Youth, let somebody else kill him: He made through his Army two or three times in Person, till being tired he was fain to leave off, and speed to Visiapour, to complain of Rustam's Falshood: Upon this Rustam's Horse disbanded, some choice Friends only going over with him to Seva Gi, advising him to follow his blow, and set upon Visiapour its self, which he did; and had not Syddy Jore come to its Relief with a vast Recruit, he has not only attacked but carried it. Then it was time for Seva to retire to Panala, where being long detained by Syddy Jore's(2) lying before it, at length (as was thought) through the Connivance of the said Syddy, he stole out by Night; and by a false Pharmond(3) takes the Syddy's Town of Rajapour,(4) pretending the Syddy was to surrender it in exchange for Panala.

After which the Syddy resorts to Visiapour to his Master, who bore his Disgust for letting the Traytor go, under a serene Countenance, and

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(1) Rustam Zaman. (2) Sidi Johar. (3) Pers. *farman*, an order.

(4) Danda Rajpuri. It was captured in 1661 by Shivaji. Sidi Johar rebelled, and owing to the treachery of his followers was slain by them in 1662, in order to secure their own pardon.

dismiss'd him with thanks : But having made Bullul Khan Commander in Chief, he dispatches him after the Syddy, who being wary and doubtful of the King's Intentions, had provided to stand to it, putting Bullul Caun to Flight: Whereupon begins another Civil Discord ; the King in Person resolves to bid at his Head, which otherwise by the Clandestine Practices of Bullul Caun was hoped to be atchieved, as it proved, he doing that by Fraud he could not do by Force : For the Night after both Armies were in view, the Omrahs on the Syddy's side forsook him, and he was slain, and his Head brought to the King, without any more Strokes fought ; such deadly Venom bears Secret Malice and Hellish Insinuation.

This still makes for Seva Gi, for he was not able to cope with him singly ; which Impediment thus lopped off to his hand, he seizes at leisure smaller Places, as Dande Rajapour, whose Prince sueth for Protection to the Mogul, being beaten out of all but his strong Castle at Dande Rajapour, environ'd about by the Sea, but within Shot of the Main, which Seva with a great Effort has lain before these fifteen years: The Mogul succouring it by sea, it derides the Batteries of his Artilleries ; and these are the Fleets we are so often troubled with at Bombaim.

In this Juncture of Affairs the King dies, and leaves a Babe to dispute for the Throne(1) ; when Seva Gi enlarges himself, flies out as far as Surat, and comes home with Rich Booty ; which hapned presently after the Emperor of the Moguls was warm in his Seat (by the Overflow of his Brethren, and the Death of his Father Shaw Jaun,(2) by his Interest on Raja Jesseign(3)) ; who desirous to try if by Kindness he could reclaim this famous Rebel, allures him to Court (Faith being plighted for his Safty), where shortly after, the Outcries of the Women in whose Kindred's Blood his hands were imbrued, made him shift for himself in an Hamper on a Porter's Back, which passed the Guards among many other, which were fain to be sent as Piscashes(4) to his Friends, as the manner is when under Confinement : With this Slight he got away (not without the Mogul's Privity), and 'tis believed will hardly venture to Agra again, unless better guarded.

For this he made a second Rape on Surat, and now lately has taken the Rajaship of Rhamnagur,(5) though he had first spread himself more South, even to the Walls of Goa, from whence he slided to the Borders of the Canatick and Sunda(6) Rajah's Country : His Chief Residence is at Rairee, where he bids Defiance to the Emperor of Gulconda, Duccan, Portugueze, and all the World ; magnifying himself in his Strong-Holds ;

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(1) Ali Adil Shah II of Bijapur came to the throne in 1656 and died in 1659, leaving as his successor Sultan Sikandar, an infant, who reigned till 1686.

(2) Shah Jahan died on 23rd January 1666.

(3) Raja Jai Singh.

(4) Pers. *peshkhash,* "a present".

(5) Ramnagar, now Dharampur in the Surat District.

(6) Sonda, N. Canara District.

installed Mau Rajah[1] Two Years since, when I sent you a Journal of a English Gentleman's[2] sent Ambassador to him at that time: His mother was then alive, to whom he shewed Filial Obedience: He is married to Four Wives, to whom he keeps religiously, being a strict Observer of his Heathen Rites.

He sways by Brachmins; his Soldiers are Hardy Brave Fellows, fit for the Mountains; 30,000 Horse is the most he can make, Foot innumerable.

Merchants have little Countenance from him: Of the Common People he says, Money is inconvenient for them; give them victuals and an Arse-Clout, it is enough. They tell their Tale in Moratty; by Profession they are Gentues; some few Moors are among them; Whores and Dancing Wenches he allows none in his Army[3]: This Barbarian Commander being like the Scythian Ateas,[4] who hearing one sweetly modulating on an Ismean Pipe, swore he had rather hear the neighing of an Horse, or the Clangor of Horns or Trumpets. At Sea he is no stronger than his Neighbours; once he went Admiral of his Fleet of Grobs and Boats, against Dande Rajapore, but Storms arising dishearten'd him for a second Adventure.

The Marathas in the Seventeenth Century

It is clear the *Duccannes* are a warlike and troublesome nation, apt to dislike government, proud and brave, having an army more splendid than the Moguls; adorning their elephants, horses and lances with silver bells and feathers, gallant and rich in apparel and *Sumbreros*[5]; the people swarthy or olive; of all Religions . . . . . . these hilly people are of a rougher temper, more hardy, and less addicted to the soft vanities of musick, cloathing, pomp, or stateliness, being all naked, starving rascals; Seva Gi's men thereby being fitter for any martial exploit, having been accustomed to fare hard, journey fast, and take little pleasure . . . . . . Seva Gi's men care not much for a pitched field, though they are good at surprizing and ransacking.

The Battle of Hendry Kenry (October 18, 1679)

Our English Ships had no sooner left the port of Bombaim, but that Seva Gi had posted several Hundred Men on Hendry Kenry,[6] a Rock in the Mouth of the Bay, on pretence of hindering the Syddy's[7] Men going

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(1) Maha Raja. (2) Henry Oxenden.

(3) No soldier in the service of Sivaji was permitted to carry any female follower with him in the field, on pain of death.

(4) A Scythian King, mentioned by Plutarch. (5) Umbrellas.

(6) Really two distinct islands, *vide infra*.

(7) Sidi, or Abyssinian, the Moghul Admiral.

in and out; whereupon a small Bark, with an old Captain,[1] being sent to demand their Business there, and he landing with his Men imprudently, were all cut off by the Barbarians.

After this Action, Seven Prowes and one small Ship (the Pink) were ordered to lie at an Anchor and block up the Avenues before the Rock; which seen by the Barbarians on Shore, the first fair Wind they Manned out Forty Gallies, at whose approach our Prowes fled all but one, which was easily vanquished; and the Pink feigned a fear likewise, whereat they being encouraged, Boarded her with a terrible noise, who cleared her Decks with her small shot, and blew some Hundreds up from her Prow and Poop, and then plying her great Guns, on those who were Board and Board, sunk Four of their Gallies, and put the rest to flight; which made them more afraid than at the first onset, being glad to bear away with the rest; however they in this skirmish succoured the Besieged with Five Boats laden with Provisions.

A Month after they appeared again with all their strength, and the English being recruited with another small Ship, engaged them, and gave them the rout, following them into their own Harbours, where they got hastily ashoar and drew up their Vessels under some small Guns planted to secure them.

Whilst our Fleet were busy in this Enterprise, and left some Boats to shut up the River Tull, the Syddy came before Henry Kenry, where he lies with his Fleet; who should he get Footing there, would be as bad a Thorn as Seva Gi.

Amidst these Wars and rumours of Wars, we quietly lay down our Arms, and leave Seva Gi and the Syddy alone to contend for our stony piece of Ground on Henry Kenry; how much to our Honour or Reproach, may be gathered from the Language we have daily cast in our Teeth; "Why Vaunts your Nation? What Victories have you achieved? What has your Sword done? Whoever felt your Power. What do you possess? We see the Dutch out do you; the Portugals have behaved themselves like Men; every one runs you down; you can scarce keep Bombaim, which you got (as we know) not by your Valour, but Compact; And will you pretend to be Men of War, or Cope with our Princes? It's fitter for you to live on Merchandise and submit to us.

But for all these Revilings Seva Gi makes them tremble here, forgetting that twice their Safety has been owing to us, from falling into the hands of that terrible Plunderer.[2]

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(1) The famous Captain Richard Keigwin, afterwards the hero of the "rebellion" at Bombay, of 1683-4.

(2) "Hendry Kenry" is the "Hobson Jobson" for two small islands, Andheri and Khanderi, in Bombay Harbour. The Marathas gave the Government of Bombay constant anxiety by attempting to garrison them, their excuse being the presence of the Moghul fleet under the side. Actually, this would have deprived the English of the command of the sea. The action here described has absurdly been called a piece of treachery! Keigwin's ruse, was, of course, as legitimate as firing on an enemy from ambush. He had not struck his flag, and the object of the Marathas in attempting to board the English vessel was to plunder it.

VIII.—THE DIARY OF HENRY OXENDEN, 1674

[This narrative is taken from the diary of Mr. Henry Oxenden, nephew of Sir George Oxenden, President of Surat, who died in 1669. His successor, Gerald Aungier, President 1669—1677, sent Henry Oxenden, George Robinson, and Henry Mitchell, in May 1674, to Shivaji's great stronghold at Raigarh, in order to arrange a commercial treaty with the Marathas. Oxenden and his companions had the good fortune to arrive just in time for the Raja's Coronation. This narrative, therefore, has a unique interest, being a minute account by an intelligent foreigner of the crowning event in Shivaji's career, his court and his ministers, as he saw and knew them.]

1674. May the 13th. Having received instructions from the Honourable President of the Council and got all things in readiness in order to my journey, embarked in a Bombay shibbar[1] (together with Mr. George Robinson and Mr. Thomas Michell, by his Honour appointed to accompany me), and about nine of the clock at night arrived at Chaul,[2] a Portugal city on the main, into which we could not enter, the gates being shut up and watch set, so that we passed this night in the suburbs, in a small church called St. Sebastian's, and

The 14th. About three in the afternoon receiving advice that Sivaji was returned to Rahiri from Chiblone,[3] departed thence to Upper Chaul, a town belonging to the Raja, about two mile distant from the Portugal city, and was in former times a great mart for all sort of Deccan commodities, but now totally ruined by the last wars between the Mogul and Sivaji, whose army have plundered and laid it waste. The Subadar of this town being a person of quality who commands the country opposite to Bombay, as Nagatan,[4] Pen, etc., I thought good to give him a visit, and to present him with a couple of pamerins,[5] and the rather because I understood from Narayan Sinay, our linguist,[6] that he hath some aversion to our nation and might somewhat hinder our proceedings at court which I was willing to take him off by all fair means. He received the visit kindly, and promised all the courtesy that lay in his power to perform, and after some immaterial discourse we returned to our tent, and

The 19th. Set forwards for Rahiri, and about nine of the clock came to Panchara,[7] a town at the foot of Rahiri hill, where we understood that Sivaji was departed thence to Pratabgad,[8] to visit the shrine of Bhavani,

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(1) A coasting vessel. (2) Chaul or Revadanda. *See* p. 172, note 2, and p. 200.

(3) Chiplun. (4) Now Borivli.

(5) Scarves. (6) Narayan Shenvi, the interpreter. (7) Pachad.

(8) Pratapgarh, containing the shrine of Sivaji's family goddess Amba Bhavani, was built in 1656. Here Afzal Khan met his doom in 1660. Raigarh, the 'Gibraltar of the East,' Sivaji's capital, was built in 1664.

a pagoda[1] of great esteem with him, and celebrate some ceremonies there in order to his coronation, having carried with him several presents, and among the rest a sombrero[2] of pure gold weighing about $1\frac{1}{4}$ mds. which he hath dedicated to the said pagoda's use. Understanding here that we could not be admitted into the castle before Sivaji's return, pitched our tents in the plain, and

The 20th. Esteeming it necessary in order to our more speedy despatch to make our business known to our procurator, Naranji Pandit, I went to visit him (whose reception was very kind). I delivered him his Honour's letters showing him several presents we brought for the Rajah and Ministers of State, of which he highly approved, and promised to help us to the Raja's presence as soon as conveniently he could, after his return from his pilgrimage to Pratabgad. In the interim we might rest satisfied that his endeavours should be totally employed in forwarding the Honourable Company's interest, and procuring us a speedy despatch, for which, having rendered him thanks, I presented him with the Articles which we brought for the Raja, to sign, translated in the Marathi language, which he said he would peruse, and then give his judgment of them another time. I then took occasion to discourse with him concerning the conclusion of a peace betwixt the Raja and Siddi of Danda Rajapur,[3] urging many arguments to create in him a belief it would be for the Raja's advantage, but he would not be persuaded it was for his master's interest to raise a siege which hath cost him so much blood and treasure, especially now he hath such hopes of gaining the place, and therefore told me it would be in vain to move it to the Raja, who was resolved to take the castle, let it cost what it will, and to that effect was daily sending down more ordnance, ammunition, men and money. I replied the President had no more design in making this motion than that of a good neighbour to them both, having observed the miseries that each party endured, and the general obstruction of trade occasioned by the war; but since he desired me to desist mentioning it to the Raja I should not trouble him therewith, but what was more consistent with advantage, but he would not be persuaded it was our and his own interest, which was the encouraging of trade and merchandise in the country, and opening the ways to Balaghat,[4] that merchants might with safety bring down their goods to the seaports, which would be much to the Raja's profit and increase of trade and treasure; and this I recommended to his prudence to persuade the Raja thereto, who being a soldier from his infancy, it's possible minded not such concerns, to which he answered that he doubted not but it would be effected in a short time, for that the King of Bijapur who is owner of those countries from whence most sort of commodities come, being weary of the wars with his master, hath sent several ambassadors to conclude a peace with him, which he thought would be made up within two or three months, and thus the ways would be free, and the merchants have egress and regress as formerly; that the Raja would, after his coronation, act

(1) Temple. (2) Umbrella (Chhatri)

(3) The Sidi, who was the Moghul Admiral, was constantly at war with the Marathas.

(4) The country adjacent to the top of the passes of the Western Ghats.

more like a prince by taking care of his subjects, and endeavouring the advancement of commerce and trade in his dominions, which he could not attend before, being in perpetual war with the Great Mogul and King of Bijapur.(1) This is the substance of my first discourse with our Procurator, Naranji Pandit, who seems to be a man of prudence and esteem with his master, so that after a little sitting, I took my leave of him, having first presented him with a diamond ring for which he expressed a liking and his eldest son a couple of pamerins, and doubt not but they will well deserve it from the Honourable Company if any settlement is made in Sivaji's dominions. After returning to the tent, I gave his Honour an account of my negotiations, together with the news current in these parts.

21st. This day we continued in the same place under the tent, and found it excessive hot and incommodious, but this evening to our joy we understood that the Raja was returned from Pratabgad, when I solicited Naranji Pandit to procure leave to pass up the hill into Rahiri Castle, and on

The 22nd. We received orders to ascend up the hill into the castle, the Raja having enordered us a house there; which we did. Leaving Pancharra(2) about three of the clock in the afternoon, we arrived at the top of that strong mountain about sunset, which is fortified by nature more than art, being of very difficult access, with but one advance to it which is guarded by two narrow gates, and fortified with a strong high wall, and bastions thereto. All the other part of the mountain is a direct precipice, so that it is impregnable except the treachery of some in it betrays it. On the mountain are many strong buildings, as the Raja's court and houses for other ministers of state, to the number of about 300. It is in length about 2½ miles and breadth ½ a mile; but no pleasant trees nor any sort of grain grows thereon. Our house was about a mile from the Raja's palace, into which we retired with no little content.

The 26th. The Raja, by the solicitation of Naranji Pandit, gave us audience, though busily employed with other great affairs, as his coronation marriage, etc. I presented him and his son, Sambaji Raja, with those particulars appointed for them by the President and Council, which they seemed to take very kindly, and the Raja assured us that we might now trade securely in his dominions without the least apprehension of evil from him, for that the peace was concluded. I replied that was our intent, and to that effect the President of the Council had sent me to his court to procure some Articles signed and privileges granted by him, which were the same we enjoyed in Hindustan, Persia, etc., where we traded. He answered it was well; and referring me to Moro Pandit, his Peshwa or Chancellor to examine the Articles, and give him an account what they were, he and his son took their leaves, and retired into their private appartments, where they were busily employed with the Banyans in

(1) Sultan Sikandar Adil Shah, 1672-1686.

(2) Pachad, about 5½ miles from the summit, which is nearly 3,000 feet above sea level.

consultations and other ceremonies, and will hear of no manner of business until the coronation be over. We likewise departed to our house again, when I gave his Honour an account of my transactions hitherto.

May 28th. Went to Naranji Pandit, and took his advice concerning the presenting the rest of the Ministers of State, who told me that I might go in person to Moro Pandit, but to the rest I should send what was for them by Narayan Sinay,[1] declaring likewise that if I would have our business speedily effected, and without impediment, it was necessary to be at some more charge to present some officers with pamerins, etc., who were not mentioned in our list of presents, to which I assented, considering that the time of year was far spent, and that should we be forced to stay the whole rains, at Rahiri, the Honourable Company's charge would be greater than the additional presents come to, and therefore desired to know who they were which we must oblige. He answered that two pamerins were not enough for Moro Pandit, that we must present him with four, and Dataji Pandit, Wakia-Navis or public intelligencer,[2] with a ring that is valued at 125 rupees,

the Dabir or Persian escrivan,[3] with 4 pamerins,
Samji Naiji, keeper of the Seal,[4] ,, ,,
Abaji Pandit,[5] ,, ,,

and then I need not doubt of a speedy conclusion. Otherwise they would raise objections and scruples on purpose to impede our negotiations; for every officer in court expected something according to his degree and charge. So we took our pamerins, etc., for them, and went, accompanied by Naranji Pandit's son to Moro Pandit with his present, who received it very kindly, and promised he would press the Raja to confirm the Articles and dispeed us, as did all the rest of the ministers unto whom, by Naranji Pandit's advice, I sent Narayan Sinay and a servant of my own.

The 29th. This day the Raja, according to Hindu custom, was weighed in gold,[6] and poised about 16,000 pagodas, which money, together with one hundred thousand more, is to be distributed after the coronation unto the Brahmans who in great numbers are flocked hither from all the adjacent countries.

The 30th. This day I sent our linguist, Narayan Sinay, to Naranji Pandit to enquire what he had transacted in our business touching the signing of our Articles, etc., who returned answer that the Raja stopped his ears to all affairs whatever, and deferred them till his coronation was over, being busily employed with his Brahmans, to put things in a readiness against that day, it being now at hand, and therefore must have patience till then, declaring that the Raja had granted all our demands except those two Articles wherein it is expressed that our moneys shall go current in his dominions, and his on Bombay, and that he shall restore

(1) Shenvi.
(2) Waqia-navis (Mantri) or Chronicler.
(3) Dabir, or Secretary (Sumant).
(4) Shamji Nanaji, the Nyaya Shastri.
(5) The Muzumdar (Amatya) or Auditor.
(6) The Tuladana ceremony, also practised by the Mogul Emperors, *e.g.*, Jahangir. Shivaji weighed 10 stone.

whatever wrecks may happen on his coast belonging to the English and inhabitants of Bombay. The first he accounted unnecessary to be inserted in the Articles of peace, because he forbids not the passing of any manner of coined moneys in his dominions, nor on the other side can he force his subjects to take those moneys whereby they shall be losers. But if our coin be of as fine as alloy and as weighty as the Mogul's and other Princes', he will not prohibit its passing current. To the other Article he says that it is against the laws of Konkan to restore any ships, vessels or goods that are driven on shore by tempest or otherwise, and that should he grant us that privilege, the French, Dutch, and other Merchants in his country would demand and claim the same right with us, which he could not grant without breaking a custom that hath lasted for many ages. The rest of our desires he most willingly conceded, embracing with much satisfaction our friendship, and promising to himself and country much happiness by our settlement and trade. Naranji Pandit did likewise then inform me that he doubted not but to persuade the Raja to grant us our wrecks, because we enjoyed the same privileges in the Mogul and King of Deccan's country; but the former Articles concerning the money we must not expect it, and it was enough that the Raja would not prohibit its passing if made conformable in goodness and weight to other kings' coins with which I might rest satisfied; and that as soon as possible after the Raja's coronation he would get the Articles signed and dispatch us; of all which I advised his Honour by the return of some coolies I sent to Bombay to ease our charges.

June 5th. Naranji Pandit sent me word that on the morrow about seven or eight in the morning the Raja Sivaji intended to ascend his throne, and he would take it kindly if I came to congratulate him therein, that it was necessary to present him with some small thing, it being not the custom of these eastern parts to appear before a prince empty-handed. I sent him answer that I would according to his advice wait on the Raja at the prescribed time.

The 6th. About seven or eight of the clock, went to court and found the Raja seated in a magnificient throne, and all the nobles waiting on him in very rich attire, his son Sambaji Raja, Peshwa Moro Pandit, and a Brahman of great eminence seated on an ascent under the throne, the rest, as well officers of the army as others, standing with great respect. I made my obeisance at a distance, and Naranji Sinay held up the diamond ring which was to be presented him. He presently took notice of us, and enordered our coming nearer even to the foot of the throne, where, being vested, we were desired to retire, which we did, not so soon but that I took notice on each side of the throne there hung (according to the Moor's manner), on heads of gilded lances, many emblems of Government and dominion, as on the right hand were two great fishes' heads of gold with very large teeth; on the left hand, several horses' tails, a pair of gold scales on a very rich lance head poised equally, an emblem of justice; and as we returned, at the palace gate there was standing two small elephants on each side, and two fair horses with gold bridles and rich furniture, which made us admire which way they brought them up the hill, the passage being so difficult and hazardous.

The 8th. The Raja was married to a fourth wife without any state or ceremony, and doth every day distribute his alms to the Brahmans.

The 9th and 10th. Every day solicited Naranji Pandit to get our Articles signed and despatched us, the rains being set in violently. He returned answer that he would lose no opportunity, carrying them always about with him, but that the Raja was totally taken up in the distribution of his alms to the Brahmans.

The 11th. Naranji Pandit sent word that the Raja had granted all the demands and Articles excepting our money passing current in his country, which he accounted needless, and had signed them ; that tomorrow the rest of the ministers of state would sign them and that we might depart as soon as we pleased.

The 12th. This day the rest of the ministers of state signed the Articles, and I went to receive them at the Pandit 's house, when they were delivered me by him, who expressed much kindness for our nation, and promised on all occasions to negotiate our business at court with the Raja for which having rendered him thanks, and given a cousin of his a pamerin for his pains in translating the Articles and other services, I took my leave of him, and the

13th. Departed Rahiri castle, and the 16th arrived at Bombay and delivered his Honour the Articles of peace signed and ratified by Sivaji and his Ministers of state, which if punctually observed will be of no small benefit to the Honourable Company's affairs, both on this island Bombay and their factories which may be settled in Sivaji Raja's dominions.

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